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Lt. Gen. Sir Andrew Clarke
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LIFE OF LIEUT.-GENERAL THE HON. SIR ANDREW CLARKE G.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E.

LIFE OF LIEUT.-GENERAL THE HON. SIR ANDREW CLARKE

G.C.M.G. C.B. C.I.E.

COLONEL-COMMANDANT OF ROYAL ENGINEERS
AGENT-GENERAL OF VICTORIA, AUSTRALIA

EDITED BY COL. R. H. VETCH C.B.

FORMERLY DEPUTY INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF FORTIFICATIONS

AUTHOR OF "GORDON'S CAMPAIGNS IN CHINA," "LIFE OF LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR GERALD GRAHAM," ETC.

WITH A PREFACE BY COLONEL SIR G. S. CLARKE
K.C.M.G., F.R.S., LATE R.E.
SECRETARY DEFENCE COMMITTEE, SOMETIME GOVERNOR OF VICTORIA

ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

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stitution of 1855. This hope could not be realised, and when, ill and suffering, he bade us farewell at Charing Cross station in November, 1901, we knew that it was the last. At the little country railway station of Macedon, I received a telegram saying that he had passed away.

Those who had the privilege of close association with Sir Andrew Clarke can best appreciate the qualities which enabled him to exercise an influence, too little recognised, upon affairs, and which at the same time endeared him to his subordinates.

His training when he was appointed to the high post of Inspector-General of Fortifications had been of the most varied and, for a military officer, the most exceptional nature. It was the kind of training which our empire alone can provide for its sons, and to the value of which Lord Cromer has recently paid a striking tribute.

The appointment was sharply criticised. There were actually persons who believed that Sir Andrew happened to be looking over a hedge somewhere in Victoria when Mr. Childers either stole a sheep or committed a murder—the story varied—and that the Inspector-Generalship was the reward of silence. So far may the minds of estimable people be perverted!

The appointment was not of the accustomed conventional type; but there was, at the time, no possible candidate who possessed the qualifications of Sir Andrew, and the fact of his close friendship with Mr. Childers was of great advantage to the public service. The Secretary of State for War and the Inspector-General, the one possessing cool judgment and great firmness when his mind was made up, the other of more sanguine temperament and imbued with the

idealism traceable to his Irish origin, were exactly calculated to supplement each other's characteristics.

Sir Andrew went to the War Office with a world-wide experience behind him. He had played a part in the early struggles of Tasmania and Victoria. At the Admiralty he had undertaken engineering works on a large scale, and had learned to understand naval requirements and naval modes of thought. In the Straits Settlements he had supplied a solution of native problems of much complexity and had laid the foundations of an almost unique commercial development. On the Viceroy's Council he had been brought into contact with the needs of India and with high imperial questions. As Commandant of the School of Military Engineering he had dealt with technical military education and had been in close touch with the Corps of Royal Engineers.

Thus we who served under him in the old Horse Guards building found a chief who was the exact antithesis of the stereotyped official. Sir Andrew was only fifty-eight when he became Inspector-General, and the receptivity of his mind was absolutely unimpaired. We used to feel that he was as young as we were, and as ready as the youngest of us for any innovation which held out hopes of progress. Once convinced that a step was necessary and right, he advocated it with enthusiasm and a rare pertinacity. The trammels of red tape and the allurements of the "official channel," which have destroyed the power of initiative in the British Army and have crippled the usefulness of many promising military careers, were scorned by Sir Andrew Clarke, whose direct methods sometimes shocked the bureaucratic sentiment inherent in a great public office. That he wielded exceptional

influence in affairs of the most varied nature is undoubted; that he occasionally failed to get his own way was inevitable.

From the first he succeeded in infusing a new spirit throughout the office of the Inspector-General. Fortification in this country had become highly conventionalised. The plain lessons of the Crimean Campaign had been ignored, and in matters of coast defence pure theory had usurped the place of induction based on the experience of war. The fleet attack on the forts of Alexandria supplied a wholesome corrective, which Sir Andrew Clarke quickly applied. The functions of the Navy were taken into account, and the teaching of history was brought to bear upon the subject of national defence. A naval ambassador was installed at the Horse Guards, with the best results, and this once daring innovation is now, I trust, a permanent institution. With the office of the Director-General of Artillery relations were somewhat strained, and the Royal Regiment had too little voice in regard to the armaments which it would have to fight. Sir Andrew Clarke obtained the services of an artillery officer as adviser, and the establishment of a Joint Works Committee secured practical co-operation between the scientific corps.

Such administrative changes may well seem small and obvious. They have, however, borne good fruit in many parts of the empire. The obviously right course is not invariably taken where wrong traditions prevail, and all honour is due to the man who not only sees what is needed, but is willing to break with the past by carrying it into effect.

The forcible exposition of opinions tending to upset dogmas comfortably established rarely conduces to the

personal advantage of a public official. "Governments," as Sir John Gorst once said in a moment of inspiration, "hate and discourage original talent." Sir Andrew was, however, a generous disputant, who never carried professional differences into personal relations, and his genial nature went far to disarm rancour. He was probably regarded in some quarters as a dangerous innovator; but time has proved the correctness of many of his cherished ideas.

Memories thickly bestrew the strenuous years from 1882 to 1886, when, in addition to carrying out the many current works of the office, Sir Andrew Clarke was engaged in advocating with admirable persistency the course which he believed to be best for the empire, or in combating vigorously measures of which he disapproved. The number of important questions which were thus handled was large, and it may be said that many did not fall within the scope of a fortification and barrack department. There was, however, no proper machinery for dealing with them elsewhere, and Sir Andrew Clarke, with his wide outlook upon affairs, felt naturally impelled to supply the deficiency. The result was much controversy, which sharpened our wits and necessitated careful thought and study.

The so-called "battle of the routes" was a notable case in point.

On November 5th, 1883, the hapless force of Hicks Pasha, which had been permitted to wander off into Kordofan, was annihilated, and near the shores of the Red Sea, Egyptian troops had suffered three disasters. "The appalling massacre" at Kashgil, in Major (now Sir R.) Wingate's words, "took place so far away from Cairo that it was not understood aright,"[1]

[1] *Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan.*

and as late as December 3rd all responsibility for operations in the Soudan was declared to rest with the Egyptian Government. There were those, however, who realised that the honour of Great Britain was already involved and that intervention had become inevitable. To the practical mind of Sir Andrew Clarke the question presented itself as essentially one of communications, and before the end of 1883 he was convinced of the necessity for constructing a railway from Suakin to Berber. How earnestly and how persistently he urged this view readers of his life will partly understand, but the complete history of the vicissitudes of the prolonged controversy will never be written. I can state only that no effort was spared, no argument omitted, and no opportunity lost. The trials of the unjust judge were small compared with those of the authorities, to whom Sir Andrew appealed in season and out of season; but, in this case, the *vox clamantis* did not prevail. There were, it is true, some few halcyon days when the star of the Suakin-Berber route appeared to be in the ascendant. Then the clouds rolled across the scene, and our hopes were blighted. By sheer importunity Sir Andrew Clarke succeeded in obtaining permission to organise a base equipped with a light railway at Suakin; but when, in February, 1885, it was at length discovered that a line to Berber would be "invaluable," Khartoum had fallen and General Gordon was dead.

What might have been if Sir Andrew's plan, which was strongly supported by expert authorities outside the War Office, had been adopted, if the Berber route had been opened up after the action of Tamai on March 14th, 1884, as was urged, and if the railway had then

been pushed forward as rapidly as possible from Suakin, we cannot know.

"What happened we remember. The Red River scheme was accepted, and the vote of credit was taken on August 7th, 1884. By December 25th a force 2,200 strong, of which little more than one-third had been conveyed in the boats which had supplied the justification of the scheme, was assembled at Korti, where the alternative was either to navigate the Nile for 480 miles, including its most difficult and least known rapids, or to strike across a desert route of 175 miles to reach the river 100 miles below Khartoum. There were no grounds for hope that Khartoum could hold out beyond the end of the year, and its relief had become obviously impossible. A most gallant attempt was, however, made at great risk to "communicate with Gordon," and at length, on January 26th, two steamers, which his foresight had provided, carrying 20 British soldiers in red coats, with about 240 Soudanese, and towing one nugger laden with dhura to supply the needs of 25,000 starving people, reached Khartoum, which had fallen two days previously.

The fine body of British troops which formed the Nile expedition gave splendid proofs of endurance and of generous effort, but failure was, from the first, inevitable.

One episode during the period of the "battle of the routes" is indelibly fixed in my memory, but I inexcusably omitted to record the date, which was, I believe, towards the end of May, 1884.

Acting at that time as aide-de-camp, I took Sir Henry Gordon into my chief's room, returning there directly he left. Sir Andrew spoke to me almost exactly in the following words: "Sir Henry Gordon came to

tell me that he had just been with Mr. Gladstone, who said that if he thought his brother in danger, all the means at our disposal should be employed to rescue him. Sir Henry told Mr. Gladstone that he did not consider his brother to be in any danger, and I said to him, 'Then you have killed your brother.'" Sir Andrew then believed General Gordon to be in a position of rapidly growing peril, and the words quoted were exactly what I should have expected him to say in the circumstances.

Sir Andrew's intervention in the question of the Suez Canal was another interesting episode among many that I recall. I do not know whether, if he had not fought hard for the widening of the waterway, the alternative plan of a second narrow canal would have been adopted. I well remember, however, that this plan found powerful advocates, and that it succumbed to the array of opposing arguments marshalled at the Horse Guards.

One lesson he impressed upon us young officers, both by example and precept. We learned to take responsibility, to act first and always to act, to write about it afterwards. This was salutary teaching, of which there is abundant need in the British Army.

His quick Irish sympathy and imagination, together with his early associations, made Sir Andrew a strong Imperialist in days when the term was not in every mouth. Naturally sanguine, he had aspirations for the future of the empire which it is well to cherish. It was as an Imperialist that he became a Home Ruler. Early recollections of famine and eviction in Ireland in 1845 had deeply impressed him, and later he had seen discontent and disturbance in Victoria allayed by the free gift of self-government. The mental process

was a natural one; but it was not understood by some of his friends, who viewed the question from a different standpoint, and he strongly resented the imputation of being an advocate of disintegration.

To the last his keen interest in the empire never flagged, and he died in the service of his old colony, Victoria, of whose affairs I used to tell him in weekly letters.

Sir Andrew, whose particular heroes were Stamford Raffles, John Nicholson, and Gordon, was essentially a man of action. Criticism and academic exposition did not satisfy him; he was always craving to accomplish something, and when he failed to secure the free hand in which he delighted, he suffered from depression for the short time that his sunny disposition would permit.

He made for himself a career by strenuous work, which was perhaps allowed at times to become too absorbing. Ambitious he undoubtedly was. This was natural in one to whom the affairs of the empire were all-engrossing and who was fired with the zeal of the reformer. Towards the end of his life, I think that his work in the Malay Peninsula—too little known because the fruits were reaped in after years—gave him most satisfaction. In common with nearly all men who have greatly striven, he sometimes felt that he had not achieved all that lay within his powers.

> "The ample proposition, that hope makes
> In all designs begun on earth below,
> Fails in the promised largeness; checks and disasters
> Grow in the veins of action highest reared."

Readers of this volume will recognise a life of exceptional public usefulness worthy of record, and they will not fail to realise the intensity of interest and the wide scope of the careers which our empire can bestow

upon its favoured sons. Those who knew Sir Andrew Clarke will never forget his great kindliness and broad sympathies. Those who served under him will cherish the memory of a chief who was always considerate, always inspiring, and always open-minded. In the intensely complex affairs of our national life he played a notable part, and it is by reason of labours such as his—often unknown and unrewarded—that we move, however slowly, towards the light.

G. S. CLARKE.

May, 1905.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR

TO the many old friends of Sir Andrew Clarke who have so kindly rendered assistance in the preparation of the record of his life I wish to express not only my own acknowledgments, but also the warm thanks of Sir Andrew's daughter, Mrs. Sueter, who has taken the deepest interest in this tribute to her father's memory.

Two maps of the Straits Settlements and Malay States will be found at the end of the book. They are intended to show the difference between the country in 1875 and to-day. The first map belonged to Sir Andrew Clarke when he was at Singapore, and, although it was not quite up-to-date, it shows sufficiently well how little known and how wild the peninsula then was. The other embodies the latest information, and illustrates the development that has taken place consequent upon Sir Andrew's efforts to open up the Native States.

ROBT. H. VETCH.

June, 1905.

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SIR ANDREW CLARKE

CHAPTER I

FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE TO 1847

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL Sir Andrew Clarke, G.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E., Colonel-Commandant of the Corps of Royal Engineers, and Agent-General for the colony of Victoria, Australia, was born at Southsea, Hampshire, on the 27th July, 1824. He was the eldest son of His Excellency Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Clarke, K.H., formerly of the 46th South Devonshire Regiment, Governor of Western Australia; and grandson of Dr. Andrew Clarke, of Trinidad, in the West Indies, and of Belmont, Co. Donegal.

Sir Andrew's great-great-grandfather was John Clarke, of Grange, Co. Tyrone, whose Scottish ancestors settled in the North of Ireland in the seventeenth century. John Clarke's eldest son, Andrew, about 1760, married Miss Flora Lindsay, by whom he had a large family. Of this family the eldest son, John, became an army surgeon, and served in the West Indies, where he and the second son, Andrew, married sisters. John returned to Ireland soon after his marriage and lived at Grange. A younger son, James, stayed at home, and in course of time bought the

property of Port Hall, near Lifford, now owned by his grandson.

It is with Andrew, the second son of this family, that we are concerned. He was the grandfather of Sir Andrew, and a well-known man in the West Indies in the early part of the nineteenth century. Born in 1764, he entered the medical profession, and in 1782 served on board H.M.S. *Dublin*. Later he went to the West Indies, where his elder brother John was serving, and was attached to a regiment of foot. He married at St. Kitts, in 1790, Louisa Downing, daughter of Anthony Johnston, of Annandale, and remained in the island for some years after his marriage. When Trinidad was captured by Abercromby in 1797, Dr. Clarke moved there and became a planter, and the owner of a considerable estate. He was a keen and active officer of the local Militia, and in course of time succeeded to the command of the battalion to which he belonged.

With Brigadier-General Sir Thomas Picton, who was Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Trinidad when Dr. Clarke arrived, he established a particular friendship.[1] He was also on intimate terms with Sir Thomas Picton's successors in the Government—Sir Thomas Hislop and Colonel William Monro. The former stood godfather to his third son, William Hislop Clarke, and the latter showed his appreciation of the Doctor's services in command of his Militia Battalion by selecting him for the command of the 1st Militia Division with the rank of Brigadier-General.

[1] Many years after, Dr. Clarke wrote from Trinidad to ask Sir Thomas Picton to use his influence to obtain a commission in the Army for a nephew, little thinking that his old friend had already met with a soldier's death. The gallant Picton fell at the head of his division at Waterloo, on the 18th June, 1815, and Dr. Clarke's letter was not written until the 4th July.

Dr. Clarke's family were all born in the West Indies, three boys and a girl surviving childhood. His eldest son Andrew, born in 1793, was the father of our Sir Andrew. The other sons were James Langton,[1] born in 1800, and William Hislop,[2] born in 1806. The boys were sent home, as they arrived at school age, to the care of their father's sister, Mrs. Lindsay, who lived at Strabane, Co. Donegal. Andrew went to a school in England and his brothers to one at Raphoe. A daughter, Eliza, was born to the Doctor in 1810, who married Mr. William Coghlan of Cork and left descendants.

The Doctor's eldest son, Andrew, was commissioned when quite a boy (1806) as an ensign in the 46th South Devonshire Regiment (now the 2nd Battalion of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry), which was then serving in the West Indies. Four years later he took part in the gallant capture of Guadaloupe from the French, and in 1811 he accompanied the regiment to England. In 1813 he was promoted captain and went with the 46th to New South Wales. After serving there for three years he was given two years' leave to go to England, and when he rejoined the regiment in 1818 it had been moved from Australia to Madras.

[1] James Langton Clarke was educated for the Army, and gazetted to the 70th Foot in 1820, but alarmed at the stagnation in promotion at that time, he exchanged the profession of arms for that of the law, and was called to the Bar. Eventually he went out to Australia, where he became first a stipendiary magistrate, and then a county court judge.

[2] William Hislop Clarke was also educated for the Army, but followed his brother's example and became a barrister. He enjoyed good practice at the Chancery Bar. He left an only son, Marcus Andrew Hislop Clarke, born in 1846, who went out to Victoria, Australia, where he established a literary reputation. He was the author of a *History of the Continent of Australia and the Island of Tasmania*, and of other works on the Antipodes. He also wrote several novels, one of which, *For the Term of his Natural Life*, was very successful. He died early, leaving a family.

In the meantime his father in Trinidad had been greatly vexed by the high-handed proceedings of a new Governor, Sir Ralph Woodford, who arrived in 1813. The Doctor tells his grievance to his eldest son in a letter dated 20th January, 1814, from which the following is an extract :—

From Dr. Clarke.

"I have been very unfortunate since the arrival here of our new Governor, he having seized my house, which I purchased from Mr. Whitmore in 1808 for two thousand guineas, as well as nine months' rent due to me at the time of the seizure, 30 August last year. Since then, I have been trying by a suit at law to get it back, but hitherto without effect. The Attorney-General says that Mr. Whitmore is indebted to the Government one hundred thousand pounds sterling, and that by law his title to the house was not good, as from the time he accepted the situation of Commissary or Receiver of public money everything he possessed was held mortgaged to the Crown for the due and faithful discharge of the trust reposed in him. Thus you see an honourable man is robbed of his property by a villainous quibble of law.

"I mean to go home in the first fleet in April, and will memorialise the Lords of the Treasury, for surely they will not sanction an old servant to be defrauded of his property, who has been serving his country for more than thirty years, half of which time I have spent in this country drilling Militia, for which I have never received sixpence."

Whether Dr. Clarke ever received any compensation or reparation for the seizure of his house by the Government does not appear.

In 1817 Dr. Clarke had made up his mind to leave the West Indies for good, and wrote to his son Andrew, then in England on leave of absence, begging him to effect an exchange to the depôt in order that they

might meet the following year. But this could not be arranged, and Captain Clarke went to India. In the meantime the Doctor continued to look after his Militia Division in Trinidad with unabated zeal, and Mr. John Neilson wrote to one of the Doctor's sons: "Your father is as bad as ever with the Militia. He gives us devilish severe drillings the first Sunday in every month, which is brigade day." When the gallant Doctor left the island the Commander-in-Chief issued a complimentary general order testifying to Brigadier-General Clarke's successful organisation of the Militia for many years, and tendering his acknowledgments and thanks for the valuable assistance he had rendered to successive commanders-in-chief.

Accompanied by his wife and daughter, Dr. Clarke went home in 1818, and resided at Strabane. Two letters from the Doctor to his eldest son tell of his home-coming, his wife's illness and death, and other family news:—

From Dr. Clarke.

"STRABANE, 9 *January*, 1819.

"MY DEAR ANDREW,

"I left the West Indies with your mother and Eliza the 16th July last year, arrived in England after a tempestuous passage the 3rd September, and came here the 10th October, where I have taken a small house next door to Mrs. Lindsay, and where I believe I shall remain till I build one on the property I purchased some years since near Lifford. Since our arrival here your mother has almost constantly been confined to the house with a cough and pain on the chest. . . .

"Your letter to your mother astonished both her and myself not a little. It is an extraordinary circumstance that at your age and with your prospects you should desire to quit the service. . . . You say much upon the subject of religion, and from the style you write in upon that subject I am afraid you have got acquainted

with some designing Methodist parson. Surely a good man may be as good a Christian in the Army as in the Church, as Corporal Trim says in *Tristram Shandy*, which I am sure is very possible. . . .

"Always, my dear Andrew,
"Your affectionate father,
"ANDREW CLARKE."

From the same.

"BELMONT, NEAR LIFFORD,
30 *January*, 1820.

"MY DEAR ANDREW,

"I wrote you last on the 6th April giving you the melancholy intelligence of the death of your ever to be regretted mother, since when I have received your letter of the 6th July, which gave me infinite pleasure for many reasons. The first and principal was that you were reconciled to your profession, and the second that, although you had been ill of fever, you had recovered. . . . You do perfectly right in retaining your name for purchase, which you must continue to do, and I shall instruct the Messrs. Earles, should a vacancy happen, to be prepared to pay the money.

"I removed to this place from Strabane, where I had lived twelve months with James and Will, the 1st November last. Although the house is not finished it is much better and warmer than the house we left. James went before the Board of Commissioners at the Military College last Midsummer, and passed the Board with some credit. He was first in fortification and third in mathematics. He is now the first on the Board list for a commission, and expects to be gazetted daily. He is an uncommon fine, honourable boy, and remarkably well informed generally. Will is at school with the Rev. Mr. Rolston, who takes only ten boys, and those only the sons of gentlemen of the first class. He breakfasts with Mr. Rolston and rides home to dinner and to sleep. He is a first-rate scholar for his age, is reading Lucan, Terence, and the Greek Testament. My dear girl Eliza I took to Dublin last September, and placed at school in Stephen's Green with a

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lady who was strongly recommended to me, a Mrs. Dumoulin. I hear from the child once a month. She writes me she is very well and happy. I shall go up to them in April or May to see her and see what improvement she has made. . . .

"This is a disagreeable country for a stranger to settle in—no society that is good. I am heartily tired of it, and had I not spent so much money upon the house and grounds I would leave it. It has cost me four thousand pounds and there is much to do yet.

"James and Will beg their love to you, and I have nothing more to say but that I am always your affectionate father,

"ANDREW CLARKE."

The recipient of these letters came home from India on leave three years later, and on the 24th August, 1823, married at Teignmouth, Devonshire, Frances, daughter of Philip Lardner, Esq., and widow of the Rev. Edward Jackson, Chaplain to the Honourable East India Company, by whom she had had two children. Captain Clarke's first child, the subject of this memoir, was born the following year, and went to India with his parents for a time. Captain Clarke obtained his majority in 1825, and served for another eight years in India. He returned to England with his regiment in 1833, and was quartered with it in the North of Ireland at the time of his father's death in 1836.[1] Created a Knight of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order in 1837, and succeeding to the command of his regiment in 1839, Colonel Clarke served with it at home and at Gibraltar, and in 1842 he took it to the West Indies. There he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of St. Lucia, and on leaving the colony in 1844 was presented with a public address.

[1] Dr. Clarke was buried beside his wife in Grange Cemetery, and there is a tablet to their memory in Lifford Church.

In April, 1845, he wrote to his eldest son from Cork :—

From Lieutenant-Colonel A. Clarke.

"My affair is so far settled that I have this day made application for half-pay, to enable me to accept the Governorship of Western Australia, which Lord Stanley has placed at my disposal. The salary is small—£800 a year and a very good furnished house, but it may lead to something better."

Accompanied by his wife and stepdaughter, Miss Fanny Jackson, he sailed in October, 1845, for Perth, to take up the government of Western Australia, or the Swan River Colony.

Having briefly referred to Sir Andrew's grandfather, the Doctor and Militia Brigadier-General, and to his father, the Soldier and Colonial Governor, it is time to turn to Sir Andrew Clarke himself. The story of his life is the record of a man who from his first start in the world was determined to succeed; who felt that he had in him the ability to get on; who seized the opportunities that offered themselves, and by his strenuous character made a name for himself in a succession of very diverse services to the State.

The materials for the story are almost wholly connected with the busy official life he led. They consist of his own letters and letters to him, all bearing mainly on the work he had in hand at the time, together with official minutes and reports innumerable. Very little is available to show the man apart from his official life. But Sir Andrew's occupations were so varied and the energy he threw into each, as one succeeded another, so conspicuous, that he may be seen in many lights, and usually as a moving spirit in affairs that have more than a passing interest.

Andrew Clarke was the eldest of four sons. His

brothers were: James George, born in 1827, who joined his father's regiment, the 46th Foot, in 1844, served with it in the Crimean War, and died in the seventies; Hislop, born in 1830, died in 1851; and John Lardner, born in 1831, who entered the Royal Artillery in 1851, served in the Crimea, retired as a major, and died in 1879, leaving an only son, now Lieutenant-Colonel John de Winton Lardner Clarke, of the Royal Garrison Artillery.

Owing to their father's absences from home on military duties, the elder boys were brought up under the care of their grandfather, Dr. Andrew Clarke, and of their uncles, James Langton Clarke and William Hislop Clarke.

Sir Andrew Clarke's earliest recollections were of his return from India to the old country, and of his not being able to make himself understood in his own language. His grandfather's house at Belmont became his home, and he was always warmly attached to it, and to the neighbourhood. Writing after his father's death from the Antipodes he referred to the old home in the following terms:—

"The only wish I have is that Belmont should not be sold. Strange how my heart goes back to that big, square house, and speaks to me with a thickening tongue of one or two sad and many happy hours of my boyhood. If possible do not sell it. I hope yet some day to redeem it all myself."

On another occasion he wrote that he had the most vivid associations with Lifford Church; it was the first church he remembered to have been in.

Educated at the King's School, Canterbury, and at the well-known Portora School at Enniskillen, he spent his holidays at Belmont. A memorable occasion is

recorded when he dined there with his grandfather and father and two cousins. Only these five were present, and the name of each was Andrew Clarke!

At the age of fifteen he was placed with Mr. Paul, of Shooter's Hill, Woolwich, to be prepared for the entrance examination for the Royal Military Academy. He passed it successfully in the following year. During his four years' residence at the "Shop," as it is called by the cadets, his high spirits led him into frequent small scrapes, and his diary while a "neux" (fag) contains several entries of being "under arrest" for trifling irregularities. The only exciting incident is one recorded by himself after he had become a senior cadet and had been made a corporal. This was a fight with the late General Sir Michael A. Shrapnel Biddulph, G.C.B., Colonel-Commandant of the Royal Artillery. The story is told with a brevity of expression and a dry conciseness which is not without humour:—

"*Tuesday*, 8 *March*.—Biddulph impudent to me at drill. Kicked him.

"*Friday*, 11*th*.—Biddulph made corporal.

"*Monday*, 14*th*.—Biddulph challenged me for what occurred on Tuesday. Refused to fight on this score, but allowed him any other. Struck me on the stairs. We met in the Fourth Racket Court. First two rounds I got the best, but my wind did not do so well the other two. Hammer and tongs work. Separated. Biddulph apologised. Shook hands. Done up.

"*Tuesday*, 15*th*.—Went into hospital as my face was very much swollen. By-the-by, Buck was my second.

"*Thursday*, 17*th*.—Rather better. Had an invitation from Uncle William to spend Saturday and Sunday with him. *Refused of course*.

"*Friday*, 18th.—Nearly well."

Of his instructors at the Royal Military Academy,

Professor Faraday made the most impression on him. His simple and lucid lectures had a wonderful fascination about them that caused them to live in the memories of all the cadets of the period.

During his cadet service at Woolwich Clarke spent one of his vacations with his parents at Gibraltar, where his father was at the time quartered, in command of the 46th Foot. He had a delightful holiday, and his studies at Woolwich lent a special interest to the frowning batteries and underground gun-galleries of that famous fortress.

Clarke came out first of his batch in the final examination at Woolwich, and received a commission as second lieutenant in the Royal Engineers on the 19th June, 1844. In the autumn he joined the Corps at Chatham for the usual courses of professional instruction, but, although he was well reported upon, he did not profit much by his stay there. In after life he always maintained, with reason, that it was the wrong time to send young officers to Chatham. He argued that it was too great a tax upon young men who had passed some years in going through the mill at Woolwich to make them undergo a further course of study at Chatham. Just emancipated from a state of pupilage and invested with the dignity of their sovereign's commission, they were inclined to resent having to go to school again, and consequently derived small benefit from the professional instruction provided for them at Chatham. A much better arrangement, he thought, would be to send them straight from Woolwich for a year to an outstation, where their work would be both soldiering and engineering. They would then soon find out their deficiencies, and be ready to seize the opportunities of professional study which Chatham afforded.

From Chatham Clarke was sent to the Fermoy district in Ireland at the worst period of the famine of 1845. Troops were moved about from one station to another, as the authorities deemed necessary for the preservation of order, and while Clarke was at Fermoy two battalions were unexpectedly ordered to the station.

The only accommodation for the second battalion was a long-unoccupied barrack which had been much neglected. Presumably it was not anticipated that its occupation would be necessary, and no funds had been provided for its proper upkeep. Window-panes were broken, doors unhinged, staircases rickety, and the sanitary arrangements imperfect. The troops could not go in, and were billeted in the town, their commanding officer making unfavourable comments on the Royal Engineers. Andrew Clarke was nettled. He undertook, if the commanding officer of the battalion would give him a large fatigue party, to have the barrack fit for occupation in forty-eight hours. He was as good as his word. But the materials and tradesmen's labour cost £34, and when the bills reached the Commanding Royal Engineer at Cork, Lieutenant Clarke was not only told that he must pay the bills himself, but was reprimanded for the action he had taken.

His conduct at Fermoy, however much it may have displeased the Commanding Royal Engineer at Cork, did not prevent General, afterwards Field-Marshal, Sir John Burgoyne, then Inspector-General of Fortifications, nominating Clarke a member of the Oregon Boundary Commission, but the receipt of the following letter from his father turned his thoughts into another channel and he declined the appointment:—

From Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, PERTH, W.A.,
"*17th February*, 1846.

"MY DEAR ANDREW,

"We arrived safely at Perth on the 26th of last month. . . . Prospects are anything but bright—great want of population, greater want of money or credit, no probability of being better, the local Government in debt, the taxes too high to admit of our placing additional ones to clear us, a complete hand to mouth system from the crippled state of our finances. No public events going on, bad roads and bad buildings, no money to improve them. This house is miserably planned and in a state of dilapidation. It will require a thousand pounds to make it a proper residence. This, however, is out of the question. . . .

"I must confess I am glad you did not come out with me. You would have been completely lost here. The only appointment I could have given is the Private Secretaryship, or Confidential Clerkship as it is called. This is one hundred a year. . . .

"We expect an Engineer officer from Sydney or Van Diemen's Land to examine and report upon the fortifications necessary for the defence of this place. If they sanction anything of the nature, I presume we shall have a resident Engineer officer, when there would be an opening for you, and you would have plenty to do in the construction of the works. I shall watch this and give you the earliest intimation. A little money laid out in this way would be of great advantage to this poor colony.

"I think we shall like the climate, though at present it is awfully hot, more so than St. Lucia. Ten months in the year they say it is pleasantly cool, and it is always healthy. The greatest trial is the little intercourse with England. . . .

"Ever your affectionate father,
"ANDREW CLARKE.

"P.S.—If you could be ordered to New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land, they are as good quarters as any other, and you would be in the way of coming here should the arrangement I speak of take place."

With the definite idea before him of obtaining employment in his profession at some future date under his father's eye, Clarke applied to be sent to New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land. He was promoted to be Lieutenant on 1st April, 1846, and in July of that year he was fortunate enough to obtain his wish. He was given the command of a small detachment of Royal Sappers and Miners for service in Van Diemen's Land, and was ordered to embark in the same ship that was to take out the new Governor, Colonel Sir William Denison.

His uncle James wrote to him: "I wish you joy in going to Van Diemen's Land, and under a Governor of your own Corps. It may lead to your being a Governor out there at no very distant period, *i.e.* before you are forty." The following was his farewell letter to his uncle William, full of solicitude for his brother's prospects and of gratitude to his uncle. That these expressions of gratitude were real and heartfelt, and not merely conventional compliment, will be well understood by those who knew Andrew Clarke.[1]

To Mr. William Hislop Clarke.

"ARMY AND NAVY CLUB,

"26 *September*, 1846.

"DEAREST UNCLE,

"I have been several times to Pall Mall, but the Marquess[2] has not yet returned to town. I forward you a copy of Paget's[3] letter, which although *far* from being a good one gives me some slight hope, if I shall be able to see him before I leave England, as we have a respite from the 30th to the 2nd."

[1] Many years afterwards, when his uncle's health suddenly broke down, Andrew Clarke sent his uncle's only son Marcus out to Australia at his own expense and gave him a start in life.

[2] The Marquess of Anglesey, Master-General of the Ordnance.

[3] Captain P. L. C. Paget, nephew of the Marquess.

[Then follows a copy of a letter from Captain Paget regretting that he could not help him in getting a brother into Woolwich Academy, and saying that he would be only too glad if he could assist him, but the authorities would not alter the existing arrangements for candidates. It concludes as follows:—"I must try to get a sight of you at Portsmouth. Let me have a line to say where you put up there. I can't tell you how sorry I am for your brother, but if he fails in getting called up at Woolwich let him try Sandhurst."]

"This is his letter, now what do you think about trying Sandhurst? Preparation for the Army generally unhinges boys for other professions. However, I do not despair, and shall let you know about it. If I could get an interview with Lord A., or if you could on your return, it might be beneficial. His father's absence ought to assist him. A letter written from you as his guardian might have some effect, or I may do it.

"I have written to Hislop and trust my letter may have effect on him. He is one easily led and easily convinced; but enough of subjects with which indeed you have already too much to do for your own comfort and health. A great debt of gratitude does my father and his house owe you for the unceasing care and kindness you have shown to us, and my prayer is that never may it be my lot or anyone's to guard yours as you have done his, and that never may the father be separated from his children; but rest assured that if it be otherwise decided I swear to emulate you in your kind deeds towards us, and strive to repay towards yours as mine the deep and heartfelt debt of gratitude that stands against me. As I shall not leave town till Wednesday or Thursday I trust that I may again see you. I hardly wish it, however. We have already felt our adieus, and parting is too painful to pray for any repetition. I hope you are seeking quiet rest and that enjoyment which has been so bountifully dispensed on your own happy hearth; may it long be preserved to you.

"I am delighted to say that my ship appears to be a good one, with a good captain, and I have a good berth. I shall drop you a line the day we sail from Portsmouth. . . . I left Uncle James last evening all well. Adieu, my dearest uncle. . . .

"Your affectionately attached nephew,
"ANDREW."

Andrew Clarke embarked at Portsmouth on the 13th October, 1846, on board the ship *Windermere*, commanded by Captain Ross. Besides Sir William and Lady Denison and their family there were Captain C. E. Stanley, R.E. (private secretary) and his wife, Captain C. A. Denison, 52nd Foot (aide-de-camp), and other members of the Governor's staff. The voyage was uneventful, and the *Windermere* anchored off Hobart Town on the 26th January, 1847, after a sail of three and a half months.

It was no small advantage for our young subaltern to enjoy for so many weeks the close intimacy with the Denisons which such a voyage afforded. The new Governor of Van Diemen's Land, or Tasmania, as it was soon afterwards called, was a distinguished member of a distinguished family. His eldest brother became Speaker of the House of Commons, another brother was Bishop of Salisbury, and a third was the well-known Archdeacon and Vicar of East Brent. Sir William had himself already won distinction as head of the Works Department of the Admiralty. Both he and his wife, a daughter of Admiral Sir Geoffrey Phipps Hornby, were highly cultured and deeply religious. They got to know Clarke, and he to know them, during the voyage in a way that never could have happened under ordinary circumstances. Clarke not only learned to esteem the eminent

qualities of Sir William, and to admire his character, but he began to feel a sincere affection for him and for Lady Dehison. The Governor, on his part, was attracted by his bright and handsome young brother-officer, and became interested in him and in his future career.

Andrew Clarke had hardly been six or seven weeks in his new home when he heard of his father's death in Western Australia. Letters met him on his arrival with tidings of his father's illness, but he did not anticipate that he was so near his death. Colonel Clarke was only fifty-four years of age, but long service in tropical climates had told on his constitution; his health gave way soon after he reached Western Australia. He died on the 11th February, 1847, and the sad news was communicated to his son in Tasmania by his old friend and brother-officer, Major F. C. Irwin, who became Acting Governor of the colony on Colonel Clarke's death.[1]

From Major F. C. Irwin.

"PERTH, *17th February*, 1847.

"MY DEAR ANDREW,

"It is with deep feelings of sorrow I have to announce an event which your sister, I believe, has already prepared you for, the lamented death of your dear father, who departed this life on the 11th instant, after a long and painful illness, in which he exhibited a bright example of Christian faith and hope—indeed, for weeks latterly his earnest prayer and hope was that if it were God's will he might not recover, but depart to be with Christ, which, with the apostle, he deemed 'far better.' To myself the loss has been a very severe one. After twenty years' separation a Christian

[1] Colonel Clarke was buried in the cemetery at Perth, Western Australia. A copy of the inscription on his tomb will be found in the Appendix.

friend much esteemed and beloved by me was restored to me, and I looked forward to many years of happy intercourse in this distant land. Your poor mother and sister bear up well under the loss, and I trust will continue to do so. "Yours, "F. C. IRWIN."

In a letter from Mrs. Irwin, she tells how his father sent for his son Andrew's portrait and gazed at it with tears, and how he delighted to tell her about his Woolwich days. "I think," she says, "I can see him now sitting in his easy-chair, his face beaming with affection for his absent child."

Clarke's first thought on receipt of the news was to go at once to his mother at Perth, then there was a proposal that she should join him in Tasmania, but other arrangements were made, and Mrs. Clarke and her daughter, Miss Jackson, returned to England. Mrs. Clarke died on the 16th January, 1855, while her son was still at the Antipodes. Miss Jackson married Mr. George Fletcher Moore, who died in 1887, having outlived his wife many years.

The following letter of sympathy from Lady Denison to Andrew Clarke may close the first chapter of his life :—

From Lady Denison.

"I was very glad that you have made up your mind to go to New Norfolk, as I think the quiet and change of scene will be both better for you and pleasanter than it would be to remain here. I wish I could express to you how truly and deeply we have all sympathised with your sorrow, and how often I have wished that it had been in my power to be of use to you; but human comfort can do little or nothing on such occasions, and we can only be thankful for ourselves and our friends that there is better consolation to be looked for. I am rejoiced that you have given up the idea of a voyage to Swan River, which it is too probable would only have

Emery Walker Ph. Sc.

Mrs Clarke

ended in disappointment, and I think I need not say that if your mother should come here, as I hope she may, it will be a real pleasure to us if we can in any way be of use to her. I hope you will not hurry back from New Norfolk in order to be here by Sir William's return, for I am sure he would not wish it as long as you are more comfortable in remaining there."

CHAPTER II

VAN DIEMEN'S LAND (TASMANIA) AND NEW ZEALAND
1847-1853

THE hope of getting professional employment at an early date in the colony of which his father was Governor had led Clarke to apply for service in Australia. Now that his father was dead this consideration had ceased to exist, and there was no inducement for him to remain in Tasmania in charge of a small detachment of Sappers, which was employed in superintending petty works carried out by convict labour. The station was far away from home, and he was cut off from his Corps and from the interests of his profession. He longed to get away, but for a time he had some special work to do, and he threw himself into this. He made a survey of Hobart Town and the neighbourhood, and designed such wharf accommodation as was likely to be required in the near future.

When this work was completed early in 1848, he wrote to his friend, Captain Patrick L. C. Paget, of the 54th Regiment, who was Aide-de-Camp to the Marquess of Anglesey, Master-General of the Ordnance, asking him to ascertain from the authorities what chance there was of his being ordered home, and whether an application to go to some ordinary foreign station would be likely to receive favourable considera-

tion. But the gossipy and belated reply, dated from the Ordnance Office, Pall Mall, on the 1st July, 1848, an extract from which is given below, lay for six months in the writer's desk, and failed to give the information asked for:—

From Captain P. L. C. Paget.

"And now I come to your letter of the 20th February last, which I have read and reread with the greatest possible interest. I will answer it by degrees, and in the meantime I will endeavour to recollect something of what has passed since we last met. At that time you were waiting to sail from Spithead, the weather was very boisterous, and being somewhat seedy myself I never ventured so far, which I have since often regretted, as it would be but natural to suppose that one would like to see the last of an old friend, especially when he was going such a prodigiously long way off; but, however, *that* time has now passed.

"After being some wretched two months or so on leave I rejoined at Kinsale, where the depôt was stationed, but I was only there for about three months when my poor brother was taken so very ill (in the very room in which I am now writing) that Horse Guards' leave was sent me to Ireland and I have never been there since. . . .

"My brother resigned the A.D.C.-ship here, and Lord Anglesey forthwith appointed Brevet-Major Thurlow of the 90th and myself his joint aides-de-camp. The Master-General being only entitled to one A.D.C. he told us that we must divide pay, forage, etc., equally between us. Of course we hit it off together uncommonly well. This arrangement at once kept me on full pay, and afforded me the opportunity of being a great deal with my family, which was exactly my object. . . .

"About three weeks ago I went down to the Artillery ball at Woolwich. It was the first I ever was at and I enjoyed it very much indeed. The mess-room is certainly a magnificent ball-room. There were 960 people at the ball, and I was surprised to meet so many friends and acquaintances at it. Among them Leopold Paget

and his wife, and Bob Spencer, of the Horse Artillery, and his wife, who is a cousin of mine. When I was last in town I heard that duck of an angel Jenny Lind in the *Sonnambula*. She is quite the most extraordinary singer *I* ever heard, and I don't believe anybody living has ever heard a finer or so fine a singer. But you will not care about anything of this sort, as I recollect you never had the least turn for music, but, on the contrary, used to hate my big fiddle, which I still stick to most perseveringly. . . .

"I went into the Engineer Office this morning to see what old Matson[1] had to say about your coming home, but unfortunately he was away. . . ."

Long before this letter reached Clarke a new sphere of activity had opened for him. The first Maori War was over, and the Governor of New Zealand, Sir George Grey, seized the opportunity afforded by the quiet time that succeeded it to start road-making in the Maori country, with the view of obtaining a better control of the district by means of improved communications. For this work he wanted more officers of Engineers and more Sappers, and he applied to the Governor of Tasmania for the loan of the services of Lieutenant Clarke and his detachment of Sappers. As there was no urgent need for their retention in Van Diemen's Land the request was readily granted, much to Clarke's delight.

He arrived in New Zealand in September, 1848, and joined the staff of Colonel David Bolton, the Commanding Royal Engineer. He was first employed in making the Keri-Keri to Okaihou road, and he made himself very useful to his chief, who was overburdened with work. He was also employed by Sir George Grey in an endeavour to reconcile the Maoris to British neighbourhood and rule, and was entrusted with a

[1] Colonel Edward Matson, Deputy Adjutant-General for Royal Engineers at Head-quarters.

special mission to Heki and the Bay of Islands. There was, at this time, a proposal to establish the European Church of England Settlement at the Bay of Islands, where Clarke thought its close proximity to the Maoris might possibly lead to another outbreak. He made a strong protest to the Governor against the proposal, and he suggested that the settlement should be placed instead on Middle Island, where there were very few natives. This sensible suggestion was approved by Sir George Grey, and the Canterbury Settlement was formed at Port Cooper.

The following letter from Mr. Gordon Gairdner, of the Colonial Office, a friend of the Clarke family, was written soon after Clarke's transfer to New Zealand was known in England, but could not have reached Clarke till he was back again in Van Diemen's Land :—

From Mr. Gordon Gairdner.

"DOWNING STREET,

"*28th February*, 1849.

"DEAR MR. CLARKE,

"It has often been on my mind that I omitted to acknowledge and to thank you for a kind letter which I received from you shortly after your arrival in Van Diemen's Land. I was very glad to hear that your position had been made so agreeable to you there and that you had met with so much kindness from Sir William Denison.

"I have just heard from your uncle that you have been removed to New Zealand. I am sorry that I did not know of the intended move sooner, or I would at once have written to my very much valued friend, Sir George Grey, and asked him to make your position as agreeable to you as he could on your first arrival. By this time you have, of course, become well known to him, and I hope that your intercourse has been agreeable. Your change of position must have entailed some sacrifice, but it would also give you the oppor-

tunity of seeing a new country, and of studying a new race, and one which appears to afford a great opportunity for curious investigation.

"With regard to society, I suppose that beyond your own and the naval profession there is not very much. I have mentioned to Sir George Grey my regard and esteem for your father and the obligation which I should feel for any kindness which he might show to you.

"Yours sincerely,

"GORDON GAIRDNER."

While Sir George Grey thought well of Clarke, and would gladly have retained him in New Zealand, Sir William Denison wanted him back in Van Diemen's Land. The sudden death of Captain Stanley, R.E., on 13th August, 1849, had left vacant the post of Private Secretary to the Governor, and Sir William offered the billet to Clarke. Mr. (afterwards Sir) F. C. Smith, Solicitor-General, Tasmania, wrote to Clarke from Hobart Town: "Sir William looks cruelly like a fish out of water, and wants you, I think, desperately." Clarke decided to accept the offer, and had no difficulty in obtaining leave to do so from Colonel Bolton and General Dean Pitt. The exact circumstances of his appointment, and his experiences as the Governor's Private Secretary and as a member of the Van Diemen's Land Legislature, are told in his own words in the following series of letters written to his uncle, Mr. William Hislop Clarke, and spread over several years:—

To Mr. William Hislop Clarke.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HOBART TOWN,

"10 *January*, 1850.

"I wrote to you from New Zealand early in March last, after my return from an expedition to the interior, and again later in the same year, announcing the

intended change from New Zealand back to my old station in this country. . . .

"I wish, in the first instance, instead of going to Chatham I had been sent abroad. When will the good folk in Pall Mall see the great advantages that would accrue from sending the young officers of Engineers abroad at once, and let them then, on their return, serve for a year under the School of Instruction in Chatham? Chatham has ruined and spoiled ten times more good officers than it has taught their service and duty. It will be left for me when I am Adjutant-General or Inspector-General to create this change! . . .

"When I last wrote I told you of the death of poor Stanley, the Private Secretary, and a captain in the Corps. His death was most sudden. He was one of the best and finest fellows that ever lived. . . . On poor Stanley's death Sir William offered the secretaryship to me. This I accepted, subject, at my own request, to its refusal first by Alfred Denison, a brother of Sir William's, resident in New South Wales. Much inclined as A. D. was to accept, he found it impracticable to leave his affairs in N. S. Wales in other hands, so I am now regularly established as permanent Private Secretary. Lord Anglesey also, through my interest with Capt. P. Paget, his nephew, confirmed my appointment in the first instance as aide-de-camp. I never felt quite sure that this would have been done, more especially from New Zealand, one of the most difficult places in the world to be allowed to leave. Indeed, General Wynyard, Commander-in-Chief in this part of the world, felt that he was acting beyond his power in allowing me to proceed from Sydney hither, even after General Pitt, the senior officer in New Zealand, had allowed me to leave that country. However, some way or other, I worked through them all, and much to the astonishment, even of Sir William himself, who certainly took a great deal of trouble about it, my confirmation came out three months back. To Colonel Bolton I am indebted most, for as my own chief in New Zealand the least obstacle from him would at once have detained me. This was more especially kind and considerate of

him as I was the only officer he had in the Northern Province.

"The work is pretty severe. I am in office hardly without exception from half-past nine in the morning till five in the afternoon, and most frequently at work again at night. . . . I have besides been compelled to continue in charge of the Mounted Police, not much to do in itself, but still some little trouble and interruption to other work. . . . The most troublesome part of my work is the reception of applicants for office, etc.; these claimants are most numerous, and I have to listen patiently to all they say. I flatter myself I am growing very diplomatic, but the confinement knocks me up a bit."

To the same.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HOBART TOWN,
"*31st May*, 1850.

". . . You tell me to seize the golden opportunity to save for the rainy day. I am much afraid that I do not know how to do this; but even if I did, this is not the office—I mean that on a personal staff—which presents many opportunities of practising the virtues of self-denial, were one ever so much inclined. But although I am not now able in the manner you have so kindly pointed out to seize the golden moments by placing its golden particles in my pocket, I hope I am not deceiving myself, but I am trying to seize the golden opportunities and lay hold of the advantages which may lead ultimately not alone to wealth, but what I prize still higher, the establishment of a name and character.

"You may smile at your wild and scatter-brained nephew deluding himself with such visions or such hopes, but added to a long yearning since a boy to push ahead, the want of direction or continued application, the consequence to a great extent of itinerating and to a still greater extent of Irish (I had said breeding) education, has been my obstacle. The want of which I spoke just now I am studying and working hard to rectify. I have fortunately been thrown across one who is now my guide, and from whose example and precepts I try to benefit very much. It was the

luckiest day of my life in which I first met my present chief and friend, Sir William Denison. Had it not been for him I should have been but a mere drudging sub. of Engineers, still dreaming on and still castle-building; now I find myself, it is true, but at the lowest rungs of the ladder, but the ladder is there. . . .

"Sir William is very fond of shooting and hunting, and rarely misses a meet of hounds when in a good country and within reasonable distance. Although I date from Hobart Town, I am at this moment sitting opposite to him at a small table in a small country inn in the little village of Bothwell at eleven o'clock at night, having come upwards of thirty miles to hunt ten miles further on still. Sir William avoids on these occasions going to the country houses. He finds it more independent and comfortable to be at an inn, and the inns in general in this colony are wonderful, many of them equal to those on the Great North Road, and far superior to any you meet in Ireland.

"To-morrow, after the hunt, we go to a large landed proprietor's house, a Mr. Reid, of Ratho, stay there Sunday, next day ride to Lake Crescent to visit the great irrigation works in progress there, back to Ratho the same day, hunt again Tuesday, on to a Mr. Birder's at Hutton Park on Wednesday, and Thursday home. . . . What would you in the old country think of such work? But you must remember that this cannot be done for nothing. I have of mine own up here two horses and a groom, besides a troop horse and a personal orderly, so you can easily imagine that it is easier to spend than to save. It is true, that as I command the Body Guard, or as they are called here the Mounted Guides, or Orderlies, I receive a small allowance whilst travelling. But with somewhat increased means comes increased and apparently unendable expenditure. I hope, however, that by the time I return home I shall have a good balance with Cox. This is at present a mere pleasant dream. I have often thought what a splendid effort it must have been on the part of my dearest father, subduing that apparently innate failing of all our characters—not knowing correctly the measure of our cloth for the coat we intend to wear. . . .

"Here there is really nothing for C——. I have at this moment some two or three hundred names of educated men and gentlemen in the colony, applicants for even the most subordinate offices, upon my candidates book."

To the same.

"GOVERNMENT COTTAGE, HOBART TOWN,
"30 *September*, 1850.

". . . As I am now regularly settled to work, perhaps a short sketch of my duties may not be uninteresting, and show you that your 'scatter-brained' nephew may some day do some good. It will also give you some little idea of the life and duties of an active, energetic, and talented Colonial Governor; we will say nothing of his Secretary.

"You must know I do not now live at Government House, but in a pretty cottage consisting of four rooms, kitchen, servants' rooms, stable, etc., and located close to the big house in a pretty garden overlooking the harbour in one direction, the other being towards the main street. I breakfast invariably at home, and get to my office about half-past nine. His Excellency goes into his room at ten. All the letters by post for him and myself I then open. Petitions and memorials on colonial matters, if I require any information about them, I send to the Colonial Secretary before submitting to the Chief; on convict matters to the Comptroller-General; applications for offices or situations, after entering in my private record patronage book for H.E.'s future consideration, are recorded also in the other two offices, testimonials copied and returned, etc. All anonymous correspondence I burn, sometimes unread by myself, but never read by H.E. . . . All minutes of consequence giving the head or subject-matter are then copied into a minute book by a clerk, sometimes by myself, but not often, as just then (eleven o'clock) comes the Colonial Secretary or the Comptroller-General of Convicts, two officers independent of each other, through whom all correspondence with other functionaries and the public is conducted. This generally runs away with the time till twelve or

one o'clock. Perhaps in the meantime the Commandant, the Bishop, the Attorney-General, the Treasurer, the Collector of Customs, the Chief Police Magistrate, the Surgeon-General, Director of Public Works, *cum multis aliis*, wish to see the Governor or myself; for, except the two big officers first named, no one during office hours can see the Chief except through me on business, or the aide-de-camp on pleasure and subjects unconnected with the State.

"After all this, my real work begins—that is the management, the heading and tailing, counting, filling in statistics, collecting information from old records, entering précis, drafting despatches, examining all enclosures to accompany them, seeing that no statements are inconsistent with previous statements, no rules infringed, and the other hundred matters consequent on keeping up correspondence with the Home Authorities; and this under the present dynasty here is much greater than it ever was before, for it is one of Sir William's principles that he shirks no responsibility, and generally, in fact always, acts for himself, leaving the Colonial Office little detail to do or say beyond approval. At the same time, to enable them to answer every question that may be put to them, either in the House of Commons or elsewhere, so that they may never want the most full and accurate information, he spares no pains or trouble in putting them in possession of every fact and circumstance—authentic and accurate—with all the reasons and inducements that have led him to act and decide in any case. . . .

"They have made this a colony for receiving military pensioners, and already some 150, with their families, have arrived as guards from England. They came most unexpectedly upon us, with the most extraordinarily contradictory instructions from home, and the most extravagant hopes and expectations, few of which can be fully realised. Yet on the whole they are doing well. As I had had some little experience of the working of the system in New Zealand, Sir William handed over the charge to me. I have, I think, been fairly successful. I have got employment for all, and have given each man a lot of ground (this was one of the orders from home), also £15 each, in aid of hutting

themselves. This I mean to pay, not to the man, but to the contractor who builds the hut, etc. . . .

"It is a great relief to me that Sir William is very fond of hunting, and as the A.D.C. is a married man, and has lost a leg, he does not ride, so I still accompany H.E. on all the excursions he takes."

To the same.

"GOVERNMENT COTTAGE, HOBART TOWN,
"*13th December*, 1850.

"Public affairs here are going on smoothly. We are in daily expectation of receiving a new Constitution. It is not improbable that I shall have a seat in the new Legislature. I should rather like it than otherwise. It will give me certain facilities and practice in the management of public affairs. . . . The Colonial Secretary here is an old man, and will be glad to have someone who will share with him some of the badgering. . . .

"This has been a fortunate season for the colony both in wood and oil. The latter alone gives us £120,000 in this market. Van Diemen's Land is now second only to the United States in her whale fisheries. We have thirty-five square-rigged whalers out of this port, besides smaller ones, and our timber is coming rapidly into notice, and is in great demand. The beautiful ship, the *Derwent*, that takes this home, was built here in the river she is named after. If you are curious in these things, I must ask you to pay a visit to the docks some day to see her. She takes home about fifty tons of our contributions towards the Industrial Exhibition. I have had an active part in their collection, more especially the woods. I am rather in hopes they may not arrive in time, as they will then be exhibited by themselves. I would call your attention to the woods, wools, wheat, barley, hops, oils, glues, leather, furniture, tallow, soap, cheese, etc., which may be equalled, but not excelled in any part of the world; and then when you recollect all this is the produce of a colony not forty years old, you will be astonished. The *Derwent* is made entirely of native woods, and has been classed A1, and above

the ordinary run of English-built ships. I send you an outline of a strawberry that I have had the curiosity to weigh, and which gives 7 oz. They are not, I think, equal in flavour to English-grown ones, but they are very fine and handsome. These are called 'British Queen.' They have not been long imported. They grow in great profusion, and are most prolific bearers. Sir William has a very extensive bank of them."

To the same.

"VAN DIEMEN'S LAND,
"*2nd February*, 1852.

"I wrote last shortly after the extraordinary discoveries of gold had been made in New South Wales. We were informed of this at Government House just as the *Lady Leigh* was sailing. I hoped to have heard that you were one of the first to have known in England of these almost inexhaustible fields of gold. . . . Few, if any, of the statements you see in the public prints, especially if given from the colonial Press, are over-coloured or exaggerated. . . . New South Wales has felt it less socially than Victoria, and labour has there neither become so high or scanty as was first anticipated. N. S. Wales has a tolerably effective and well-organised police; her institutions and her social relations have been long established, and her goldfields are not so accessible or so productive as those of Victoria. On the whole, N. S. Wales was in every way better prepared to hear the startling intelligence of her enormous wealth than her young and ill-settled offshoot Port Phillip. . . . Of course, the scenes of wild and mad debauchery that disgrace the streets can easier be fancied than described. The military force at Victoria is but 100 men, and the population increasing at a rate hardly credible—1,400 landed in one day. . . . I am now hard at work as military secretary, arranging to send 200 of the enrolled pensioners, who are here as military emigrants, as a small reinforcement for their police.

"Everybody is looking with anxiety and interest to what the English Ministry will do. A great increase to our naval force is the principal cry here. Soldiers are but little wanted."

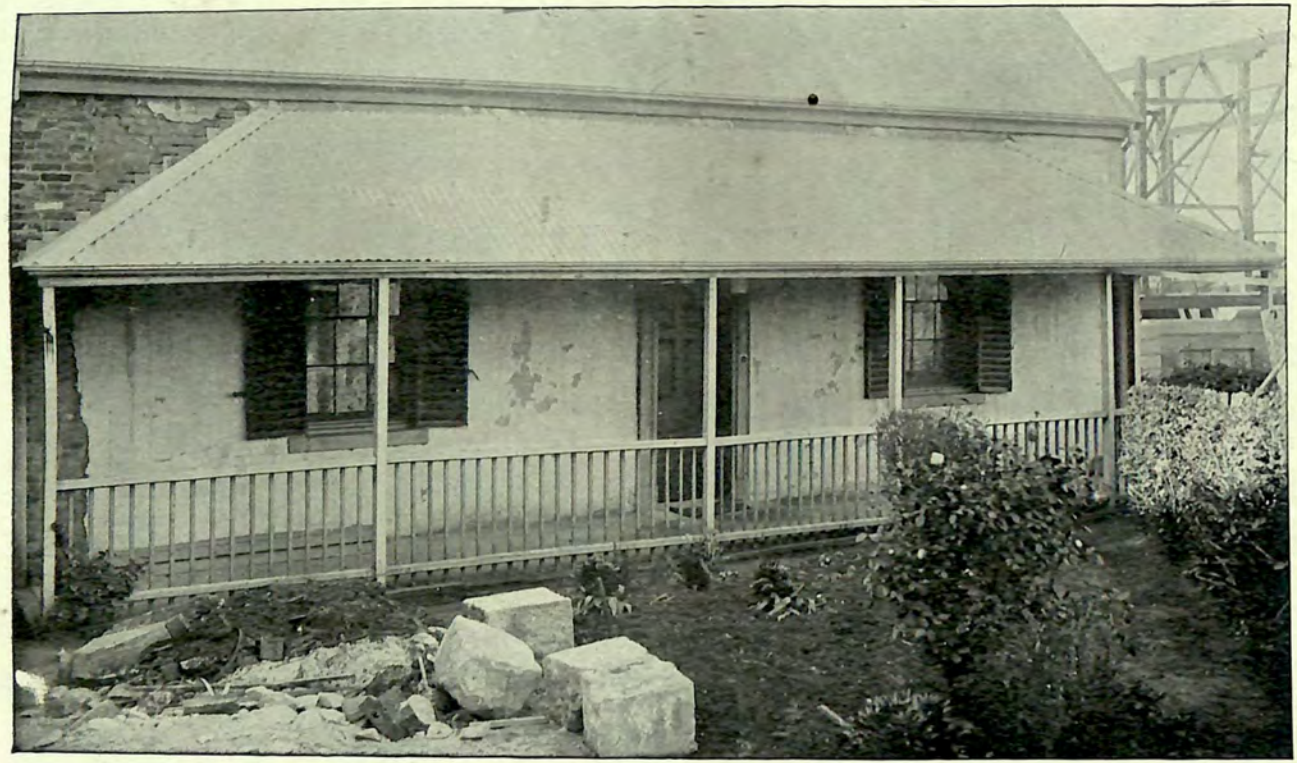
To the same.

"VAN DIEMEN'S LAND,

"*January*, 1853.

"For my own part I should be well pleased at Sir William's promotion, more especially if it took him to Europe. Added to my anxiety and solicitude to return to you all, Van Diemen's Land in honour or office, except, of course, in its Chief, can afford me nothing more. . . . You may smile at my vanity and egotism, but when you remember that now for some time I have occupied an office that naturally gives me both voice and interest in the local executive, and that, added to that, I have now a seat in the Legislature, where I do not think I have disappointed the hopes of those who urged my being sent there, in saying that Van Diemen's Land has little of honour or office now to offer me I do not say too much, or am culpably vain and self-sufficient.

"You may see from the local papers I from time to time send you, meagrely and miserably as the debates in our little 'St. Stephen's' are reported, that your hopeful nephew takes a fair share of the work. Three questions of some little moment which have been entrusted to me by the Government I have succeeded in. One, the accusation brought against the officers on board the *Sappings* in an *émeute* of a serious character. I took the conduct of the defence of the officers, and carried by a large majority a committee of inquiry instead of a condemnatory resolution, and eventually succeeded in exculpating my clients. I defended with signal success the present system of carrying on public works. . . . My chief opponent, in reply, withdrawing, as he said, for the present, his motion 'after the clear explanation and admirable speech of the Private Secretary.' And lastly, but not with the success I could have wished (but here I had a strong religious and sectarian feeling arrayed against me), on the system of education, more especially in defence and support of the establishment of the Normal School. I was unable, but this I was well aware of from the first, to obtain a permanent recognition of such an establishment, but eventually secured means



COTTAGE BY THE DERWENT, HOBART TOWN, TASMANIA, IN WHICH SIR ANDREW CLARKE LIVED WHEN PRIVATE SECRETARY

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to carry it on until June next, when I hope to try it again. On this subject I have worked hard and thought much. I know Sir William is most anxious in the matter of placing, before leaving the country, the education of the people on a secure and broad basis. That night I created some little impression. I spoke at considerable length warmly and passionately. The Press, with one exception, have since taken up the subject favourably to the views of Government. One journal has been good enough to say that my speech on the occasion was the most effective ever delivered in their legislature, and another called it eloquent and impassioned. Both these journals are in opposition to Sir William generally. Forgive me thus dwelling so long on myself. To whom can I write such things but you?"

From time to time visitors from England passed through Hobart Town and were guests at Government House. In 1852 Clarke made the acquaintance of Lord Robert Cecil, afterwards Marquess of Salisbury, who was visiting the colonies to study their early political development, and contributing articles on the subject to the *Saturday Review*. During his stay at Hobart Town he was taken ill and moved to the Private Secretary's cottage, where he was nursed by Clarke's housekeeper until he recovered. More than thirty years later Sir Andrew Clarke met Lord Salisbury at some public function in London and asked his lordship if he remembered him. "Of course I do," said the Marquess; "I have followed your career, Sir Andrew, for some time. Did I not send you to India?" "Ah! that is not what I mean," rejoined Sir Andrew. "I see you do not remember the cottage by the Derwent in Tasmania." "What!" exclaimed Lord Salisbury, "you don't mean to say you are that Clarke?"

Other visitors were Mr. Henry Loch, afterwards the first Lord Loch, and the Hon. Edward M. Stuart-

Wortley, afterwards the first Earl of Wharncliffe, who were travelling together. With these two men Clarke formed a friendship which lasted for the rest of their lives, nearly half a century. From Hobart Town they went to Sydney, and from that place Mr. Loch sent Clarke the following letter:—

From Mr. Henry B. Loch.

"SYDNEY, 11 *February*, 1853.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"We arrived here after a very tolerable passage last Wednesday week. We made a splendid run to within seventy miles of the Heads, and expected to have got in on Sunday morning, but the wind headed us. We found Augustus Fitzroy not at all well. The doctors have ordered him to New Zealand for change of air, so he accompanies us there. We expect to get away about next Sunday week, but there is so much uncertainty in the sailing of the ships, it is impossible to know when they will go. . . .

"We arrived just in time for the Government House ball here. It went off very well. The rooms are large and good, and there were many pretty faces—about 350 people. They have, however, none of the fresh colour of the Van Diemen's Land young ladies, but have more the pretty whity-brown look of English ladies in India. Sir Charles[1] has kindly asked us to stay at Government House. Arthur Denison is in town at present and I have met him frequently. . . .

"Troops were started off to the diggings a few days ago; the new regulations the Council introduced have given great dissatisfaction, and a large number of diggers have armed themselves and say they intend to resist by force their being enforced. But when they see the red-coats I have no doubt they will change their tune. . . .

"Ever yours very sincerely,

"HENRY B. LOCH."

[1] Sir Charles Augustus Fitzroy was then Governor of New South Wales.

During the years 1851 and 1852 Clarke had been an active member of the Legislature—"our new and not over docile Chamber," as he called it—and as the mouthpiece of the Governor he gained the attention and respect of the whole Assembly by a sympathetic treatment of popular questions. He was a tactful mediator between the Governor and the community, and as such was recognised as a power in the colony.

But he fully realised the limitations of his position, and that the appointment he held in Tasmania could not, in itself, lead to anything higher. He wanted a wider field for his energies and a goal for his ambition. The opportunity soon occurred, and is referred to in a letter to his uncle:—

To Mr. William Hislop Clarke.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HOBART TOWN,
"*3rd May*, 1853.

"In March last I received a confidential communication from a member of the Victorian Government sounding me as to my views of taking office with it. I consulted my present chief on the matter, though I then hardly contemplated for an instant leaving him. Our connection, at least on my part, has been of a nature not easily to be broken, however seducing might be any other prospect apart from Sir William Denison. It requires no ordinary struggle to leave one who has done so much for me and to whom cannot but be due all I have obtained.

"The office which I was told was open to my acceptance, and which the Victorian Government were good enough to express an anxiety I should go over at once to occupy, was that of Surveyor-General, with a seat in Council. It was added I might name my income, but in any case it would not be less than £1,500 a year. Sir William Denison, who was absent from town at the

time, wrote to me in reply to my letter asking his advice in the matter: 'Touching the confidential communication to you from Victoria, deeply as I should regret parting with you, I would have no hesitation in advising you to accept it. I feel certain that you would be more competent than any other man they can get.' This ended in my expressing my readiness to undertake the office, provided I had sole charge and control of the department, and was permitted to report directly and personally to the head of the Executive on all matters. . . .

"I was then led to understand that my conditions were acceded to, but that some hitch had taken place in the attempt to remove the present Surveyor-General, and it ended in a formal offer to me of the post of Inspector-General of Public Roads and Bridges with £1,200 a year. This offer I at once declined. I need not now enter into my reasons at length for this decision, but Sir William approved my doing so. I may mention that the appointment is under a late local Act, and its duties and officers are controlled by a Board partially nominated by the Crown, and partly elective. It is true I was assured I should have its chairmanship, but I still think one master is better than ten. The Board, without aiding me, would only have fettered me.

"I thought the matter had ended, when last week I received an intimation urging my proceeding at once to Melbourne, with the view of making arrangements with Mr. Latrobe[1] to take the Surveyor-General's office, as it was again at my disposal. This intimation not coming directly to me, I did not quite like the method proposed, as I was not desirous of appearing a seeker of office elsewhere. I placed the matter in Sir William's hands, who wrote to Mr. Latrobe at once telling him he need not hesitate out of any delicacy to him taking me from this Government, for though he would regret my loss, yet he would not stand in the way of my entering so wide a field, etc. Thus the matter stands. Whatever may be the result, I feel I have acted properly. . . ."

[1] Governor of Victoria.

By the end of May, 1853, all difficulties had been arranged, and Clarke had accepted the post of Surveyor-General of Victoria, subject, of course, to its ratification by the Colonial Office and the Board of Ordnance. Sir William Denison wrote to him officially :—

From Sir William Denison.

"In accepting your resignation, I desire to convey to you the high sense I entertain of your services in the Legislative Council, and my warm acknowledgments for the support you have given my Government."

This official letter was followed by a private one containing the warm personal thanks of the Governor and of Lady Denison :—

From Sir William and Lady Denison.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, 21 *June.*

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"We (for I write for my wife as well as myself) cannot allow the close and familiar intercourse which has existed between us for so many years to terminate with a mere ordinary expression of goodwill, or of wishes for your happiness and prosperity. We owe too much to you, to the interest which you have ever exhibited in everything in which we were concerned, to the zeal with which you have laboured in our behalf, to allow you to leave us without some testimonial of our gratitude to you, and of our wish that you should have something in your possession to recall us to your memory when we ourselves may be far away. You will therefore allow us, we hope, to offer you some little present, not as a return for your kindness, but as a testimony of our regard for you, and as we cannot procure in Van Diemen's Land such a present as we should wish to offer, we propose to send to England for something which may be worth your acceptance. In the meantime you will not doubt the interest which we take in your happiness, nor the pleasure we shall feel

in hearing of your success in the new career now opening before you.

"Believe us your sincere friends,

"W. DENISON,

"C. L. DENISON."

Writing the same month to the Duke of Newcastle, Sir William said:—

From Sir William Denison.

"I could not, of course, though sorry to lose the services of Lieut. Clarke, both as Private Secretary and as a member of the Legislative Council, object to his acceptance of an office for which he is peculiarly well qualified, not merely on the ground of professional knowledge, but from his thorough acquaintance with the operations of the land regulations of these colonies, a knowledge which he has acquired during the time he has held office as my Private Secretary."

There were also public manifestations of goodwill and respect. Regret at his departure was mixed with good wishes for his future advancement. A public address was presented to him, signed by a large body of residents headed by the Bishop of Tasmania. The local Press praised the zeal and energy with which he had furthered the Governor's plans for the benefit of the colony, and the straightforwardness and tact which had enabled him to carry on his multifarious duties with so much success and popularity.

The six years that Andrew Clarke passed in Tasmania in close contact with Sir William Denison were years of education, which he always regarded as the foundation of his subsequent success. To the end of his life he averred that Sir William Denison was the man who had done more than anyone else to form his character and to start him in life on a sure basis. The

following letter, which Sir William sent him after he had left Van Diemen's Land, shows the deep concern he took in his young friend's life, and the delicacy with which he used any influence he might have acquired with him:—

From Sir William Denison.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HOBART TOWN,
"*2nd September*, 1853.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"In your last letter to me you alluded to the interest which I take in you and the influence I have over you. Will you pardon me if I show this interest and strive to exert this influence with relation to a subject upon which I have often wished to talk to you, but have been prevented by a feeling that my motives might be misconstrued, and by a natural disinclination to do that to others which I might not wish others to do to me? The subject I allude to is that of religion. I never spoke to you on the subject, partly in consequence of the motives explained above, and partly from a feeling that in such communications antagonistic feelings very often spring up, which neutralise any good which the discussion might otherwise produce, but these objections do not apply to a written document, and I have only to claim the privilege of friendship in order to excuse my addressing you on a matter which relates entirely to yourself.

"I do not wish to dogmatise or to enter into the discussion of any peculiar forms of worship, or of the tenets of any particular church; but I wish to persuade you to think seriously on the subject, to read and think for yourself, and not to content yourself with a smattering of knowledge in a matter of which it is of the utmost importance you should have the most thorough and intimate acquaintance. Do not allow yourself to be led away by mere assertions on the part of those whose interest it is to deny the obligations which religion imposes, because their lives are in such direct opposition to the rules which religion lays down for our guidance. Do not allow yourself to judge of religion in the abstract by the follies and weaknesses of

some of those who profess to act in accordance with its dictates, but go to the fountain-head. Try yourself (not others) by the rules and example of our Saviour, and then decide whether you are such as you ought to be, or whether it would not be wise in you to follow the course which our Saviour prescribes for those who are sick.

"Few things would give me greater pleasure than to hear that you had ceased to be indifferent on the subject of religion, that you had commenced an earnest examination of yourself by the standard of God's Word, and that the result of such an examination had been such a conviction of the necessity of a change of heart and life as to induce you to seek by prayer the aid of God, that aid which He has promised to grant to all who ask for it faithfully. That such may be the result is the prayer of your sincere friend,

"W. DENISON."

In another letter about the same date Sir William wrote:—

From the same.

"You may safely reckon upon the continuance of my interest in you. You have two anchors out, both pretty good ones. In the first place, there is my *esprit de corps*, which makes me take an especial interest in the sayings and doings of a brother-officer; and in the second place, I have that feeling towards yourself individually which has been fostered by so many years of kindly intercourse.

"You may always feel certain that any advice which I may give you is based upon a desire for your success in the arduous position in which you are placed."

CHAPTER III

SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF VICTORIA, AUSTRALIA

1853–1858

LIEUTENANT CLARKE'S move from Hobart Town to Melbourne was not merely a transfer to new surroundings and a larger sphere of action, but it was the beginning of independent responsibility. A Private Secretary to a Governor, however able and gifted he may be, is only the mouthpiece of the Governor, and his exertions win him little reward beyond the approbation of his chief and the appreciation of the community. Hitherto Clarke had occupied a position sheltered and therefore overshadowed by that of the Governor. Now he found himself at the head of a public department, for which he was responsible to the Government and to the public. An ungrudging devotion to his late chief had won for him at an unusually early age a position of considerable independence, to fill which his fitness by character and ability was still to be tested. How it came about that so important a post was given to a subaltern of Royal Engineers is set forth in the following extract from a despatch sent by Mr. Latrobe, Governor of Victoria,

to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, on 7th July, 1853:—

From Mr. Latrobe.

"In making selection of Lieut. Clarke to fill a post, which is felt on all hands to be of the greatest public importance in the present circumstances of this colony, I have had in view the expediency of obtaining the command of qualities which cannot be looked for in men who have grown grey in the service and become more or less strongly attached to old prejudices and usages, however respectable, capable, or experienced in the ordinary discharge of professional duty. I have judged it proper to seek the assistance of one whose age, powers, and character would favour his discharge of the more active as well as the more passive duties of the office, and whose powers might be hoped to expand with the growing necessities and capabilities of the colony. In this view, and in making the selection of Mr. Clarke, I have been guided by the opinion and ready testimony of Lieut.-Governor Sir William Denison, who, I am aware, has made no slight personal sacrifice in forwarding my wishes."

The ratification of Clarke's appointment did not reach Melbourne until May in the following year, and was coupled with the condition that after two years of office he would be placed on the seconded list of his Corps. The salary was £1,200 a year, but with house-rent much higher than Mayfair rates, and other expenses in proportion, the emolument was by no means so good as it sounded. Soon after Clarke reached Melbourne he received a letter from his late chief full of friendly and wise counsel:—

From Sir William Denison.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HOBART TOWN,

"MY DEAR CLARKE, "*8th July,* 1853.

"I send you a letter which I have just received from Alfred congratulating you on your appointment.

I got your account of your interview with Haddle [the previous Surveyor-General] and of your first introduction to office. My advice to you is not to start at too great a pace. Take up one part of your business, and after making yourself thoroughly master of that, bring forward your scheme of amendment and so gradually sweep away all the cobwebs; but if you begin slashing away with your broom in all directions you will only make a dust which will blind you, and which will all settle again in some corner or other, so that your work will never end. Then another piece of advice, which you may safely trust to as being the result of experience gained by my own failures, is that you do not attempt to do everything yourself. Bear in mind that you are the ultimate referee, and see that you have a thorough knowledge of everything that goes on, but try to establish some subordinate authorities to whom you can look in the first place. . . . The difficulty will be to get some effective second man not tied down to the absurd routine which has hitherto been followed. . . .

"I agree with you in your opinion of Boards. They are in general used for the purpose of shuffling off individual responsibility, and as in the case of corporate bodies a Board has no conscience, the work is done or the decision come to without the guarantees which attend it when an individual only has charge. A Board may be of some use to collect evidence to enable an individual to form an opinion, but as an executive body it is a farce. If Tyler[1] comes out, tell him that I shall be glad to give him the benefit of my experience in any matters which he may wish to refer to me.

"Yours truly,
"W. DENISON."

The new Surveyor-General was nominated by Governor Latrobe to a seat in the Legislative Council. But he had hardly settled down to his work before he was unexpectedly called upon to visit his old colony once more. At the end of August there were symptoms of trouble at the gold diggings in Victoria that could not

[1] Afterwards Captain Sir Henry Tyler, R.E.

be disregarded, and Clarke was sent off in hot haste to Tasmania by the Governor to obtain from Sir William Denison all the reinforcements he could lay hands on for the maintenance of order at the diggings.

Clarke reached Hobart Town on the 7th September, and remained there five days. He amazed his old chief and Lady Denison with the stories he had to tell of his new home. There were wonderful political revelations that savoured of red republicanism, while his own domestic economy was no less startling. The rent of two rooms in Melbourne cost him £500 a year, and he found it cheaper to throw away his soiled socks and buy new than to get them washed.

Sir William Denison sent off at once all the troops he could spare, some 200 bayonets in all, and wrote that he hoped to be able to send 200 or 300 pensioners if they could be enrolled. Clarke was indefatigable in his exertions to raise Pensioner Volunteers, and took back with him a respectable levy. For the time the reinforcements sent to Mr. Latrobe were sufficient to maintain the authority of the law at the diggings, but there was further trouble a year later.

One of the earliest duties upon which Clarke was engaged as a member of the Government was the preparation of a draft Bill for a new Constitution for the colony, giving it representative self-government. At the second reading of the Bill in the Legislative Council, early in 1854, Clarke spoke at some length, and his speech contained two prescient passages: one was a reference to the establishment of a Commonwealth, a term which nearly half a century later obtained a larger significance in the Act of Federation; the other was an assertion that the way for England to secure the support of the Australians against her

external enemies was to give them "the full control of their own affairs," a prediction that was verified by the action of the Australasian Colonies in the British wars of the Soudan, China, and South Africa. The second reading of the Bill was carried without a division, and the Bill was sent home for submission to the Queen.

In the spring of 1854 Mr. Latrobe resigned the government of Victoria and returned to England. During the interregnum that ensued before the arrival of the new Governor (Captain Sir Charles Hotham, R.N.) the Colonial Secretary administered the government. Under the new Constitution the Colonial Secretary was to be the Prime Minister, and unless, before it became law, some new arrangement were made for the temporary administration of the Government during an interregnum, the head of a political party might, under similar circumstances to those then existing, be the acting Governor. Captain Clarke[1] was so struck with the necessity for some other arrangement that he addressed the following letter to the Duke of Newcastle, then Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

To the Duke of Newcastle.

"MELBOURNE, VICTORIA,
"26 *May*, 1854.

"MY LORD DUKE,

"Existing circumstances have forced upon my attention the fact that the Constitutional Act which your Grace will have received from this colony, whilst it alters the character of the Executive Council, suggests no provision for a successor to the Government appointed by the Crown in case of death or other contingency depriving the colony of his presence.

"Should the present Royal Warrant nominating the Executive Council remain unchanged, or be only

[1] He was promoted to be captain on the 17th February, 1854.

modified in accordance with the proposed Act, the Colonial Secretary for the time being will, under the contingency to which I have alluded, become the Administrator of the Government, thus creating the leader of a political party the Representative of the Crown; a dangerous experiment when his own party are in power, a still more questionable one when his party have been forced from power on a change in the feeling of the legislature or of the country.

"There are other still graver reasons, which, with an eight years' service and an intimate acquaintance with the phases of political life in these colonies, strike me as rendering it requisite for British interests and the welfare of these colonies that the event I allude to should be avoided, but with which I will not now trouble your Grace.

"To provide an effectual remedy for this not improbable casualty is, I am aware, a matter of some little difficulty, but I would humbly suggest that the practice which has worked well in similar cases in other colonies might be now extended to this, viz. that the Senior Military Officer should assume the government, provided he be of the rank of a Field-Officer, or in default of this the Chief Justice, thus securing for the country the presence of either one or other of two men who would almost invariably be found unconnected with any political party, and would thus, by their neutrality, be better able to preside impartially at the head of the Government. Trusting that the importance of this subject will be a sufficient excuse for my presumption in addressing your Grace,

"I have, etc.,

"ANDREW CLARKE."

Captain Clarke's suggestion was adopted by the Home Government, and on the sudden death of Sir Charles Hotham in December, 1855, Major-General McArthur, commanding the forces, assumed the government of Victoria.

The news of a definite break with Russia, and the declaration of war by Great Britain and France on the

28th March, 1854, did not reach Melbourne until some months later, and when it arrived, kindled in the heart of the young Surveyor-General a burning desire to serve his country in the field. He wrote at once to his uncle William :—

To Mr. William Hislop Clarke.

"I would wish you to see Colonel Matson[1] and tell him that I am still attached to my Corps and its duties, that my ambition is with it, not apart from it, that no subaltern doing barrack duty in the dullest quarter in Ireland would more cheerfully obey his order to proceed on service than I would. My first thought, which has never changed, was to become a good soldier, and I have no wish to pass through life a mere pretender to it. Tell him I have not forgotten my profession, and that I believe I am better now than when he did me the great gratification of telling me, on the report of Sir F. Smith, that I had been attentive to my duties at Chatham. Tell him that in some eight weeks after the order reaches me I can be in the East. Tell him, lastly, that here or there I will strive to do my duty and ever attempt to study the honour of the Corps."

But there were plenty of officers at home and nearer the seat of war who were doing ordinary military duty and had prior claims to Clarke to be sent on active service, and he remained at Melbourne to win the laurels of a more peaceful campaign in the Victorian Parliament.

During the Crimean War, Victoria and other Australian colonies made offers of military assistance to the mother country, and the offer was referred to by Lord John Russell in his despatch approving the new Constitution in terms of generous appreciation. Sir Andrew Clarke pointed out in 1861 to the Committee on Colonial Military Expenditure that the offer was the

[1] Colonel (afterwards Major-General) Edward Matson, R.E., then Deputy Adjutant-General at headquarters.

origin of the Victorian Volunteer force, and during the South African War he called attention to what the Victorian Government, of which he was a member, had offered to do forty-five years earlier, at the time of the war with Russia.

The new Governor of Victoria, Sir Charles Hotham, on landing in Melbourne in July, 1854, found its citizens preparing for an exhibition, at which all the articles intended for the Paris International Exhibition were to be displayed, as well as local products and curios. Captain Clarke was honorary secretary to the exhibition committee, and had undertaken to design and superintend the construction of the exhibition building, and when it was formally opened by Sir Charles Hotham in the following October, Captain Clarke had the satisfaction of knowing that his exertions had contributed to a great success. It was about this time that he assisted in founding the Philosophical Society of Victoria—to which a Royal Charter was subsequently granted—and was chosen to be its first president.

In the autumn of this same year, Captain Clarke introduced into the Legislative Council "The Additional Municipal Authorities Bill." Its main provisions were to enable the inhabitants of any locality, not less than a hundred in number and not spread over a greater area than thirty-six square miles, to institute a municipality for their district, with power to regulate licences, cemeteries, water supply and sanitary requirements, public libraries, museums, and places of amusement, and to establish tolls, markets, wharves, etc. The Bill was well received, passed into law, and became of the utmost benefit to the colony. It is known to this day as Clarke's Act.

The condition of affairs at the mines, which had been so serious just after Captain Clarke's arrival at Melbourne, had again, in the autumn of 1854, assumed a threatening aspect. The Eureka Hotel at Ballarat was set on fire by the diggers, who built a stockade and set law and order at defiance. The military were called in to put down the rebellion and capture the stockade, which was only done with considerable loss of life. The following letter, dated 3rd January, 1855, from Captain Clarke to his uncle William, tells of the proposal to make him Colonial Secretary, and also refers to the Eureka stockade incident:—

To Mr. William Hislop Clarke.

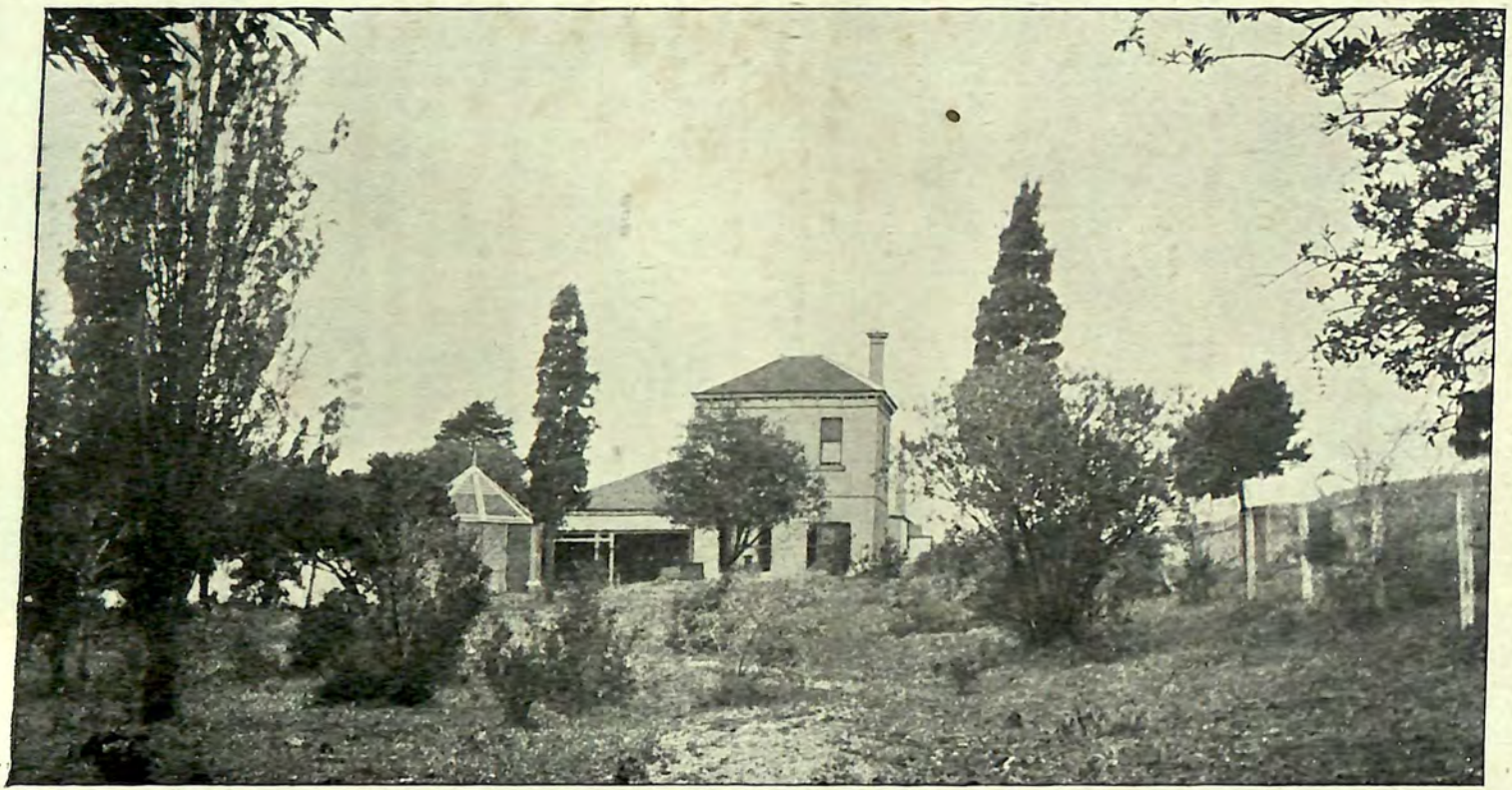
"With the colonists I stand well, so well that, though I say it that shouldn't, when the other day the colonial secretaryship was vacant, I was not only named by the Press and people outside, but a deputation from the Chamber of Commerce—the most influential body here—came to press on me the advisability of obtaining the position. I replied that I felt the mark of confidence, but I must decline. After this, some of the members of the Opposition in Council, with whom I have had more than one fight, in an interview with Sir Charles Hotham, suggested my nomination as the most acceptable one to the Council and the country. I was then sent for. I had, however, been put on my guard and I had made up my mind not to accept such an offer. You may fancy I am wrong; hear Sir William Denison: 'I think you acted quite wisely in keeping yourself clear of the secretaryship. Stick closely for the present to your existing office. You will yet be able to take a higher line than you could have done. I have no doubt of your ultimate success, but in the state in which matters now are, I think you would have been most foolish to have jumped at the shadow and renounced the substance.' Sir William alludes to the pension of £800 a year to which, on the establishment of the new Constitution, I am entitled. This I should have lost had I taken the other office. . . .

"You will see from the papers I sent you that at the mines the troops have had to fire on the diggers, and some seventy were killed. The disaffection was very considerable, and the sympathy in Melbourne—not confined alone to the mob, but extended to the middle classes—was very considerably with the diggers. The attack on the Eureka stockade by the troops was not anticipated, and the organisation, which was spreading rapidly, was for the time stopped. This was owing to the consummate judgment shown by Thomas, a captain in the 40th Regiment, who commanded at Ballarat."

The discontent of the diggers was finally removed by the withdrawal of the licence tax and the substitution of a gold export duty. So that at a later date Captain Clarke was able to write:—

"Not only were the goldfields peaceful, but there was a remarkable absence of serious crime. I used to drive all over the colony tandem fashion, or ride, and was never interfered with, though I only had one servant with me. As for bushrangers, there were none in my day. I had no adventures worth talking about, though I was about day and night. I had one or two interesting mementoes of the goldfields. Some time in 1854 Count Rosales gave me the first 'button' of gold from the first quartz reef worked in Ballarat. It was in the Black Hill lead. A civil engineer, named Pollard, who was simultaneously opening up the Bendigo reefs, sent me a block of auriferous quartz from the first reef opened in Eagle-hawk Gully. It was fashioned as a door-block, and I sent it home for presentation to the Emperor of the French; but by some accident it found its way into the Jermyn Street Museum, where it can still be seen."

It was in 1855 that Clarke induced his uncle, Mr. James Langton Clarke, to go to Australia to practise at the Melbourne Bar. Writing to his uncle William on the 10th of March, he says:—



COTTAGE AT MURRI-MURRI CREEK, MELBOURNE, VICTORIA, WHERE SIR ANDREW CLARKE LIVED WHEN SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF THE COLONY

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To Mr. William Hislop Clarke.

"I am now in hourly expectation of seeing Uncle James. . . . The Bar does not stand high here in point of ability. There is a magnificent opening, and more especially for a chamber lawyer and conveyancer. It requires but a little industry and determination, supposing, of course, a man has a fair share of ability and a knowledge of his profession, to enable him to step into a practice of a couple of thousand a year. T. A'Beckett, the brother of the Chief Justice, assured me, when inquiring as to the prospect at the Bar for Uncle James, that no better opportunity will ever be afforded to a man who is prepared to stick to his work.[1]

"I breakfast every morning at eight o'clock, sometimes sooner, and am at my office[2] by nine. I live some four miles out of town on a small farm, a portion of which is my own, though the cottage I have on lease. I pay £400 a year for it, which is considered cheap. A couple of rooms in Melbourne would cost me £500 or £600 a year."

In the summer of 1855 a project for extensive railway construction in New South Wales had been brought forward, and Sir William Denison, who had been transferred from the government of Tasmania to that of New South Wales, arranged that the direction should be placed in the hands of a Board of Superintendence. He offered the chairmanship to Clarke, who, with a great desire to be once more with his old chief, was more than half inclined to accept the offer. It was probably the following letter from his

[1] In course of time Mr. James Clarke became a stipendiary magistrate and eventually a county court judge. In a letter written at the time of his appointment to the judgeship, Captain Clarke said: "I am happy to say that I was in opposition, not in office, at the time, so that they cannot say I perpetrated a job!"

[2] The house still exists opposite the Mint, but is no longer the Surveyor-General's office.

friend, Mr. Childers, then Collector of Customs in Victoria, that deterred him:—

From Mr. H. C. E. Childers.

"Melbourne Custom House,
"17 *July*, 1855.

"My dear Clarke,

"Surely you are not going to leave us. I see by my Sydney correspondence that there is a rumour of your accepting the Railway Superintendence just voted. If you will take my advice, do not think of it. You have the best opening (for any man of our age) in this colony which you could get anywhere, and believe me, too many changes do not help a man in this life.

"I know your affection for Sir William Denison, and fully appreciate it. But you should not let your private feelings interfere with your duty to yourself and to your country, and after all, you have had more to do with the prosperity of Victoria than perhaps anyone. I write this in haste, and I fear not very grammatically. I remember the old maxim: 'Always distrust first impressions, as they are sure to be *right*,' and pray do the same. . . .

"Very sincerely yours,
"Hugh C. E. Childers."

The royal assent was given to the new Constitution Bill for Victoria in July, 1855, and the Act was officially proclaimed in that colony in the November following. By the abolition of the old form of government, in which the principal members of the Executive held their offices for life, Captain Clarke was relieved of his appointment so that the first Cabinet might be formed on party lines. On the loss of their appointments these officials became entitled to pensions as compensation for disturbance. Captain Clarke's pension was £800 a year whenever his active employment in the service of the State terminated and left him without a

salary. As a matter of fact this did not happen during his stay in Australia, and the right to pension did not come into operation until after his return to Europe.

Some time before the new Constitution came into force the selection of candidates to represent the constituencies in the Legislative Assembly began. Captain Clarke was invited to be one of the first two representatives of Bendigo, not only because he was "ready in debate," but also because he was "well informed on those scientific subjects upon which the advancement of the goldfields depends." He felt obliged to decline this invitation because he could not allow himself to be dependent upon the votes of those who might be affected by his official decisions.

Instead he offered himself as a candidate for the suffrages of South Melbourne, a constituency consisting of the townships of Sandridge and Emerald Hill. His opponent, Mr. David Blair, was a man of great energy and a powerful platform orator, but the result of the poll gave Captain Clarke twice as many votes as Mr. Blair. The warmth with which the contest had been fought left no unpleasantness behind, as it too often did in those early days of representative institutions, and Captain Clarke and Mr. Blair remained on friendly terms. Many years later Mr. Blair wrote to congratulate him as Governor of the Straits Settlements on his successful career, and expressed the hope that he might live to see him "Governor of Victoria with Mr. Blair as one of His Excellency's advisers."

This election cost Captain Clarke £700. He was selected by Mr. Haines, the new Prime Minister, to be a member of his first Cabinet, and was reappointed Surveyor-General and Commissioner of Lands.

In the following letter to his uncle William Captain

Clarke gives some particulars of the Cabinet he had joined :—

To Mr. William Hislop Clarke.

"MELBOURNE, 12 *November*, 1856.

"When last I wrote to you I was in the middle of all the turmoil and excitement of my election. This has passed, and I am now the representative of South Melbourne, a constituency similar to Westminster in its character. I had a hard fight for it, though eventually I polled two votes to one of my opponent, a man of very considerable ability, who was put forward as the representative of the ultra-democratic and separation party. I was the representative of the liberal and progress sections. The election was an interesting one. Parties are about equal. We have a majority in the Council, or Upper House, but in the Assembly, or Lower House, it is uncertain. There are one or two sections who will oppose us, but cannot unite to form a Ministry of their own.

"The Cabinet at present consists of W. C. Haines (M.A. Cantab.), a man of about forty, of good independent property, the recognised voice of the agricultural or country party, English, Premier, or Chief Secretary; W. F. Stawell (Trin. Coll., Dublin), Attorney-General, about thirty-eight or forty, member for the city of Melbourne; Charles Sladen (M.A. Cantab.), solicitor, person of large property, member for the town of Geelong, Treasurer; Captain Charles Pasley, R.E., a contemporary of mine at Woolwich, is one of the members for the metropolitan county, and is Commissioner of Public Works; H. C. E. Childers (Oxford), about thirty-three, has acquired property, member for Portland, a seaport of some 5,000 population, is Commissioner of Trade and Customs; T. H. Fellows (Oxford), Solicitor-General, member for a Melbourne suburb; and myself. How long we are to remain Ministers is another matter."

An important measure with which Captain Clarke was associated during his parliamentary career at Melbourne was the inauguration of railways in the

colony. On the 16th December he brought his railway resolutions before the Assembly. They embodied a proposal to construct 185 miles of railway at once, beginning with two lines, one from Melbourne to Castlemaine and Sandhurst, the other from Geelong to Ballarat, as the trunk lines of Victoria. These resolutions were carried in the following year. In the meantime, on the 27th January, 1857, he wrote to his uncle :—

To Mr. William Hislop Clarke.

"People at home cannot realise the magnitude and importance of this country, and consequently the anxieties and responsibilities incidental to anyone who has to take a large part in the direction of its affairs. I have now on hand the subject of our internal communications, including railways. This I am fighting through our Parliament. The land and squatting question is also on my shoulders. These I have now a sanguine hope, though agitating us for the last ten years, are settled, and on terms which both the squatters and the country seem willing to accept.

"If I finally place these questions at rest my mission here has been completed, and I hope those who watch events at home will not overlook me. You say that Gairdner said that some day or other I might be a Colonial Governor if I liked. Now I do like, and do not wish it postponed until I am so old that it will not be worth the having. I would not refuse Moreton Bay [Queensland], but I would not accept the smaller West Indian posts. Of Moreton Bay I have a high opinion, and am confident that I could make it in no very great time assume an important position in this great Australian family."

Mr. Gordon Gairdner wrote to him on the 9th March, 1857 :—

From Mr. Gordon Gairdner.

"With regard to your own position, you appear to have been fortunate. You have obtained a permanent

remuneration for the loss of your office with the privilege of still adhering to your own profession. If you can still hold on to these two advantages a government would be a good thing; otherwise I cannot understand any reasonable man giving up a permanent provision for the very uncertain contingencies of continued employment as a Governor. A man incurs expenses in his outfit which hamper him during the greater portion of the duration of his government, and then, at the end of six years, he is high and dry."

The following letter from Captain Clarke to a friend gives some particulars of his Cabinet experiences, and tells how his office ceased to be a party appointment, and, in consequence, he continued to hold it as a permanent Civil Service billet, while he was at the same time a private member of the Legislative Assembly:—

To a friend.

"MELBOURNE, VICTORIA,
"*27 May*, 1857.

"Your good Treasury or Post Office folks in England manage affairs with respect to us Australians in not the most business-like or earnest way. . . . When this province alone, setting the first example of a colony doing it, gives England a subsidy of £100,000 a year for postal service, it was to be hoped the parent state might be induced to take a small modicum of trouble in the matter. . . . You will want some of us Australian reformers to show you 'how to do it.' Since writing the above one of my colleagues for Melbourne, Mr. Service, has given notice of a motion on this subject. . . .

"You are aware that in November, 1855, by the new Constitution responsible government was established here. . . . Among the first Ministers composing the Cabinet of November, 1855, I was included. Whilst in committee on the Electoral Regulation Bill we were beaten on the adoption of the ballot in lieu of open voting, and consequently resigned. Mr. Nicholson,

the mover of the amendment, failed to form a Ministry, so the old Ministers returned to power.

"Here I may remark, seeing the working of the ballot, its independent action on the minds of voters, and, above all, its conservative tendency, I have become, with most others who then strongly opposed it, one of its admirers. . . .

"In the rest of that session, a long one, we were able to carry all our measures, and even our worst foes admit that the country was well governed, quiet, and prosperous. A dissolution took place, and a general election, in which the whole of the old Ministers were returned by large contituencies. Stawell, the Attorney-General (now Chief Justice), and myself for Melbourne, Childers for Portland, a rising seaport, etc. In November, 1856, we met the new Legislature, and till March, 1857, carried on, though actively opposed by a very strong minority hungry for office.

"Just then Stawell was elected to the Bench, the Solicitor-General was promoted, Childers left to become Agent for the province in England. While several of our supporters were away, February and March being busy months, we were taken by surprise and beaten on a finance question—twenty-nine to twenty-three. Haines, our chief, a man whose temper is a little warmer than most men's, resigned. O'Shanassy, a man of very considerable talent and the proposer of the motion against us, was entrusted with the formation of the new Administration, which he did. Three out of the new Ministers were rejected by their constituents, and O'Shanassy met the Legislature with four Ministers only, and on the first night Fellows, the Attorney-General of a former Cabinet vice Stawell, gave notice of a motion of want of confidence. This was debated, and after three nights' discussion, carried by thirty-four to nineteen. O'Shanassy then resigned, and Haines formed a new Ministry.

"In the Departments of Public Works and Crown Lands, even in the short interval of five weeks, when no longer presided over by professional men, much confusion and derangement had ensued, and it was felt desirable that their chiefs should no longer be subject

to the action of parliamentary or responsible government, as every change, and these changes might be many, would end in thorough disorganisation. It has therefore been proposed that Pasley and myself should retire from the Government, and become, with the same emoluments, their permanent heads. . . . As a Minister I rarely got home till two or three o'clock, and then had often to look over papers. The change therefore suits me well. . . . I send you my Report on Victorian Railways. It has been attacked, of course, but I have been, by even my enemies, acknowledged victorious."

Undeterred by Mr. Gairdner's discouraging observations as to the uncertain advantages of a governorship, and conscious of his own powers, Clarke continued to aspire to be the first Governor of Moreton Bay, so soon as it should be detached from New South Wales; and Mr. Gairdner not only promised to forward his views, but wrote to Sir William Denison suggesting that he should propose Captain Clarke's name for the post.

Writing to his uncle on the 15th September, 1857, Clarke refers to this, and goes on to say:—

To Mr. William Hislop Clarke.

"You will see from the papers I am hard at work in the Assembly. My scheme of railways has been adopted in its integrity after a ten months' fight over it, and the Ministers bitterly regret they did not get me to carry on my new land scheme also. It is not improbable that I shall have to do this last yet. . . .

"I see that some of the English papers connect my name with Moreton Bay. This has annoyed me, as Gairdner may think I have talked about it. This is not so. . . ."

In another letter he gives an account to his uncle of a trip to the Murray River, and refers to the telegraphic communications of the colony:—

To the same.

"MELBOURNE, 16*th November*, 1857.

"I have just made a trip to the frontier, taking advantage of a recess in the session, to Wodonga. Have you a map of Victoria? For if not you should call on Wyld and tell him that, though I acknowledge his attention in having placed my name on the large map of this country, I should have been better pleased had he answered my communications and the corrections I have sent him from time to time. Wodonga is the extreme settlement on our North-Eastern boundary, separating us from New South Wales, and situated on the Murray River. I paid a visit to ascertain for myself the best site for a bridge which the two countries are about to erect.

"After the close, hard work of this last Parliament this trip has been most delightful. A Circuit Court had just been proclaimed for Beechworth, the capital of the North-Eastern Mines, and I accompanied Mr. Justice Redmond Barry, a Judge of our Supreme Court, who took the first commission there. We travelled *en prince*, and you will be astonished to hear that we went the whole distance in the Judge's private carriage, a regular, London-built britzska, drawn by four horses, travelling some eighty miles a day, changing horses every ten or fifteen miles. This alone will convey to you some impression of the progress this country is making. The morning of the day on which we returned, at a distance of seventy miles from Melbourne, we sent from our breakfast-table at Seymour a message to Melbourne by electric telegraph that we should be in Melbourne by six, and the Judge directed certain dishes for dinner at seven. . . .

"In August, 1853, when I proposed the establishment of electric telegraphs in this colony, I was thought a visionary and at first laughed at, and I had great difficulty in obtaining their trial as an experiment on a short line of some ten miles between Melbourne and the port of Williamstown. Now they are extended to the South Australian frontier on the one side, and New South Wales on the other. Every one of the mines and inland towns are now connected with Melbourne

by telegraph. New South Wales and South Australia are taking the matter up, and meeting us from their chief towns. Tasmania, aided by us, lays down a cable from our southern extremity to her northern headland, by which she will receive, simultaneously with us, the last Eastern news.

. . . . . .

"Some four years ago you may remember my writing to you on the subject of municipal or local government, which, in face of a very strong opposition, I had succeeded in establishing. This measure has now borne its fruit, and its extension is prayed for. Already some twenty towns have been incorporated under it, and on 'the principles of Captain Clarke's Act' the other colonies are now legislating for their local governments. Simple and democratic in its character, this Act has done more to establish order and good government and to create a healthy conservative feeling than even I ever anticipated."

For some time during the session of 1857–8 Captain Clarke was in opposition to the policy of Mr. Haines, who had brought in a measure for the protection of minorities. Captain Clarke took the popular line of unfettered universal suffrage, and, bringing in an amendment to that effect, he defeated Mr. Haines' Government by twenty-six votes to seventeen. Mr. Haines at once resigned. After endeavouring to effect a compromise, Sir Henry Barkly, the new Governor, sent Captain Clarke the following note:—

From Sir Henry Barkly.

"*Saturday, half-past* 3 *p.m.*

"My dear Captain Clarke,

"So long as it seemed to me practicable to reinforce the late Ministry to the extent requisite to enable them to carry through the remaining business of the session, I did not think it for the advantage of the country to try and construct a new Cabinet; but having

altogether failed in this attempt, it becomes my duty to apply to you, as the mover of the amendment on the occasion, to advise me as to the formation of a new Government, and if you will call upon me at Toorak either this evening or to-morrow morning I shall be glad to see you. "I remain, etc.,

"HENRY BARKLY."

Captain Clarke saw the Governor the next morning, when Sir Henry Barkly asked him if he was prepared to form a new Administration of which he would be the chief. Mr. Haines had been refused a dissolution, and Captain Clarke, in a letter to his uncle, dated 9th March, 1858, describing this ministerial crisis, gives his reasons for declining the Governor's offer :—

To Mr. William Hislop Clarke.

"Now as in the minority that had voted against me were included not only many men with whom I had been accustomed to act, but the leaders or best men on both sides of the House, and as the majority contained but few men of any great parliamentary weight or aptitude for official life—indeed I was the only member of the majority who had ever been a Cabinet Minister—and as I felt that I could not seek colleagues from the minority, any Administration selected from the majority or from outside the walls of Parliament would have much to contend with. My own position, too, would have been a difficult one, and the labour and anxiety thrown upon me of no small amount. With time to train my men, to develop my policy, and to show the energy and efficiency of a new Administration, I would have had no fear of the result, and was ready to go on. But to do this I required to throw myself on the country and to appeal directly to it. Simply to return to the House and present my undrilled army to it, would have hazarded more than I felt I should be right in doing. But as Sir Henry Barkly had refused Mr. Haines a dissolution, he, justly I think, declined it to me. So to be Prime Minister for a month

or two was not a sufficient temptation, nor did I desire to be the agent in exposing the country to repeated changes in its Government. I therefore declined the responsibility of attempting to form an Administration."

On the 10th March, 1858, Captain Clarke made a statement in the Assembly to the same effect, and soon afterwards he quitted Melbourne for a two months' visit to Sir William Denison at Sydney. He had practically decided to return to England, but before committing himself, wished to take counsel with his old chief.

It was at this time that Mr. James Langton Clarke wrote from Melbourne to his brother William :—

From Mr. James Langton Clarke.

"Sir William Denison has recommended Andrew for the government of Moreton Bay and he is very anxious to get it. He seems to fear that when you and Gairdner put your heads together you both forget the lapse of time, and consider him the youth you both knew him, instead of the long-bearded man who has been on a footing of equality, and in many cases of superiority, for years past with bald or grey Attorneys-General and Chief Secretaries, members of Legislative Council and members of Legislative Assembly, etc., etc. In fact we all have the propensity of honest old John Lindsay, who couldn't help regarding his wife as a girl when she was forty, because he had known her first as a girl. This is especially the case when we have not seen the person for some years. My own idea is that Andrew is fitter for a Governor than a Minister, and that he is better for a young colony like Moreton Bay than an older man."

Captain Clarke had not started for Sydney when his friend Mr. Hugh Childers returned to Melbourne from England in May, 1858. When Clarke first came to Melbourne Mr. Childers, afterwards the well-known statesman, was Auditor-General of Victoria and soon

after became Collector of Customs. Captain Clarke and he became great friends. They shared the same political views, sat in the same Governments as colleagues, and took part together in framing the new Constitution. In February, 1857, Mr. Childers was sent to London as Agent for the Victorian Government for a year, and he now returned to the colony on a financial mission from the house of Baring in connection with the Victorian railways. Captain Clarke was one of the party that went on board the steamer to welcome him back to Melbourne. After Captain Clarke had gone on his visit to Sydney he received the following letter from Mr. Childers, then hesitating between a colonial and an English career:—

From Mr. H. C. E. Childers.

"MELBOURNE, 12 *June*, 1858.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"I ought to have written to you sooner, but you must forgive me. I suppose you have heard of the failure of my mission. . . .

"I have been in great doubt whether to go by the July boat or stay until after next session. I believe that I could get into the House, and the inclination to be in the mêlée is strong, but I fear that I should be of little or no use, and should only be putting myself to considerable inconvenience for nothing. I have tried to sound several of our old friends, and although all profess to wish me to stay, none appear willing to agree to act together on the old basis, to bring about which would be my main object. Write and tell me your own opinion.

"My view is that the Reform Bill must be managed, not opposed; that as the country is evidently opposed to the minority crotchet, those who supported it as one counter-balance to democracy under equal electoral representation may now give it up and support another, and that this may be done if all old constitutionalists, whether 'Haines-cum-Stawell'-ites, 'Haines-

cum-Michie'-ites, Little Bethel-ites, squatters, Nicholson-ites, or waverers, would agree to compromise differences before the Houses meet. . . . What say you?

"I do not hear much news just now. I am staying at Mr. Henty's, and until we came here we were with the Stawells. Pray let me know when you hear anything more definite about Moreton Bay. I see that they have already provided you with that luxury in a small community—a brand-new bishop.

"Let me have a line from you as soon as you can. My wife sends her kind regards. She is unfortunately laid up with a sprained ankle.

"Very sincerely yours,
"HUGH C. E. CHILDERS."

From Sydney Captain Clarke wrote to his uncle William as follows:—

To Mr. William Hislop Clarke.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SYDNEY, N.S.W.,
"*6th July*, 1858.

"After considering everything and taking advice from Sir William Denison, I have determined to leave Australia for England in August next. By the time I return I shall have been just twelve years absent from home—about the best part of my life, too. However, it has not been on the whole unworthily spent, and though my prospects in Victoria are, perhaps, at the present moment brighter and more full of hope than they have ever been from the commencement of my career there, I feel a yearning for England, and I gladly seize the opportunity (shadowy as the excuse may be) to push what small claims or interest I may have made at the fountain-head, and even if I do not succeed I believe it will be with no slight feeling of pleasure that I should return to the ordinary duties of my regiment.

"There is another contingency not to be lost sight of, and that is being called upon by the good folks at the War Office to make my election between returning to the Corps and its legitimate duties, or remaining in the Civil Service of the colonies, minus my commis-

SIR ANDREW CLARKE, WHEN SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF VICTORIA, AUSTRALIA

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sion in the Army, or rather be forced to retire from the service on half-pay. No civil position could equal such a sacrifice.

"I think I leave Victoria, too, at a good time, in tolerable favour with the country, my name connected with much of its national progress, and I dare believe that I may be missed, and that I will not be soon forgotten. I think, therefore, that on the whole a graceful retreat at this moment is my best policy. I shall return home armed, I think, with some little character and strong letters to some good men at home. Sir William Denison has already written about me to Sir John Burgoyne and others connected with my Corps. To his own immediate family and relatives my name is not wholly unknown. I take letters with me from him to the Speaker and his other brothers, from Lady Denison to her father, Sir Phipps Hornby, with her wish that I may be introduced to her cousins the Stanleys."

When he got back to Melbourne he wrote, on the 15th July :—

To the same.

"I have returned from Sydney, having passed two of the happiest months of my life in my old chief's family, making parting from them a bitter trial. Look out for me in the early part of October. Indeed, I hardly write calmly, but with anxious longing for the day I again shall tread Old England."

Having decided on this step, Captain Clarke resigned his seat in the Assembly and issued a farewell address to his constituents of South Melbourne. The announcement of his early departure from Australia was unexpected, and elicited many expressions of regret. A great Masonic banquet was given in Captain Clarke's honour on the 11th August, 1858, and Mr. William Haines, the Minister whose resignation he had been instrumental in bringing about by his

hostile amendment in the previous March, occupied the chair upon the occasion.[1]

The officers of the Field Branch of the Department of Public Lands presented Captain Clarke with a handsome piece of plate in token of the high appreciation they entertained of his "scientific ability and genial kindness."

During his five years' sojourn in Melbourne, Captain Clarke had endeared himself to the citizens by the interest he had taken in many matters which concerned them. Such were the enlargement of the St. Kilda Cemetery, the site for the Cathedral, the Botanical Gardens and Society, of which he was a member of Council, a pure water supply, and the collection of Meteorological Statistics, which was carried out under his direction by Mr. R. Brough Smyth.[2]

The twelve years that had passed since Andrew Clarke left England in the ship *Windermere* had been for him years of successful progress. By the greatest stretch of the imagination he would not have believed it possible, when he landed at Hobart Town in January, 1847, that in so short a time he would have had the

[1] Captain Clarke had been appointed Grand Master of the Province of Victoria, when he arrived in Melbourne, by the Earl of Zetland, Grand Master of England. In that capacity he had laid the foundation stone of Collingwood Bridge over the Yarra Yarra River at Melbourne, in November, 1856, when he was presented with a silver trowel by the Municipal Council of East Collingwood. As Grand Master, also, he had been associated with many public addresses. One of these was to Prince Frederick William of Prussia (afterwards German Emperor) on his marriage to the Princess Royal of England. In the very year of his leaving Australia, Captain Clarke had issued a stirring appeal to his brother Masons of the three-and-twenty lodges of Victoria to subscribe liberally for the benefit of the destitute widows and orphans of those who were massacred in the Indian Mutiny.

[2] In 1856 Captain Clarke induced the Victorian Government to remit £500 to Colonel (afterwards Sir) Henry James, Director-General of the Ordnance Survey, for a complete set of the latest meteorological instruments.

refusal of the premiership of Victoria. The record of these years at the Antipodes shows how an intelligent and energetic young officer, unbacked by any powerful influence, but possessed of considerable tact and camaraderie, was able to forge ahead and obtain a front place by his own merits and force of character, grappling not only with the needs and difficulties of a young colony in its land developments, surveys, public works, railways, telegraphs, etc., but also helping to frame its political constitution and to extend its municipal government.

CHAPTER IV

SERVICE AT HOME AND ON THE GOLD COAST

1858–1864

LEAVING Australia in August, 1858, Captain Clarke travelled homewards by easy stages. He broke the journey in Ceylon and again in Egypt, and in December he was at Rome.[1] With his mind filled with the art treasures of the Imperial City, he wrote a long letter to Mr. O'Shanassy, the Prime Minister of Victoria, suggesting that it would be a good thing if the colony expended a certain amount of money in the purchase of copies of famous statues and other works of art, and thus laid the foundation of an art gallery at Melbourne.

He arrived in London early in the new year, and having reported his arrival at the Horse Guards he received orders on 10th January, 1859, to proceed to Colchester to relieve Captain H. Wray, R.E.,[2] in command of the Royal Engineers in that district.

He had come home with the avowed intention of

[1] During his stay in Rome Captain Clarke was honoured with an audience of the Pope. It so happened that he was admitted to the presence of His Holiness, while a large deputation of Roman Catholics was waiting in the ante-chambers. These good people wanted to know why such marked precedence was given to a Protestant, and were informed that Captain Clarke was an Australian statesman who had helped to give "equal rights" to all religions in Victoria.

[2] Afterwards Major-General H. Wray, C.M.G.

getting the government of Moreton Bay if he could. He therefore lost no time in sending an application to the Colonial Office that his name might be noted as a candidate, and, in a letter dated 24th January, he gave a succinct statement of his services in the colonies during the past twelve years.

Captain Clarke's candidature was well backed. Sir William Denison supported it, Mr. Gairdner was a friend at Court, and now Sir John Burgoyne, Inspector-General of Fortifications, wrote the following letter to Mr. Henry Drummond Wolff, then Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton:—

From Sir John Burgoyne.

"WAR OFFICE, WHITEHALL,

"*7 Feb.*, 1859.

"MY DEAR WOLFF,

"It is understood that Moreton Bay is to be created into a distinct colony, and there will be, of course, several candidates for the position of its Governor. Among them is Captain Clarke, R.E., and as Sir Bulwer Lytton will no doubt seek for information regarding the qualifications of the individuals, I take the liberty of bearing testimony to those of Captain Clarke.

"He is an officer of considerable repute in the Corps for intelligence and professional as well as general acquirements, and I would submit that when other qualities are found in the individual the specific knowledge of an engineer is peculiarly valuable in a rising colony for promoting surveys and the regulation of public works of all kinds. But Captain Clarke has had an experience that particularly qualifies him for this task, for he has held confidential and responsible positions in Australia in which he acquitted himself entirely to the satisfaction of the principal authorities, so much so that Sir William Denison recommends him strongly for the situation. Lastly, it is in my

mind a strong item in favour of Captain Clarke that, conversant as he is with the nature of the Australian colonies and of their capabilities, he has the greatest confidence in the degree of advancement and prosperity that the settlement at Moreton Bay may attain under arrangements on which he is capable of reasoning.

"My dear Wolff,

"Yours very faithfully,

"J. F. BURGOYNE."

But it turned out, as Mr. Gairdner feared, that Clarke's name, however well known in Australia, had never been brought officially to the notice of the Secretary of State, with such prominence as would place him on a level with men who had served their apprenticeship more immediately under the eyes of the Colonial Office. On the announcement that the appointment had been given to Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Bowen, then Secretary to the Government of the Ionian Islands, Mr. Gairdner wrote to Clarke :—

From Mr. Gordon Gairdner.

"DOWNING STREET,

3 *May*, 1859.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"You would probably read in the *Times* to-day the announcement of the appointment of Bowen to Moreton Bay. They certainly lost no time in making that announcement, for I know that the fact was only definitely communicated to him yesterday. I am sorry for your disappointment, but for some time past I had not very sanguine hopes of your success from what I had been informed.

"You will now, perhaps, have an opportunity of active service in a better line, and in whatever course you move I wish you every success. It is rather curious that I have known Bowen from his boyhood, and he has always come to me for advice since he has been connected with this department. On this occasion

I could not advise him to go in for a non-permanent office instead of one which is supposed to be permanent, barring contingencies. However, he was otherwise so advised, and probably he may be right, for he has a good many friends. If you are in town while he is here I should like you to see and talk to him. He returns to Corfu in about a week to wind up his affairs and bring back his wife. Are you likely to be soon in town?

"Yours ever,

"GORDON GAIRDNER."

From the same.

"40, HAMILTON TERRACE, ST. JOHN'S WOOD,

"5 *May*, 1859.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

". . . I am sincerely sorry for your disappointment, for I can easily understand, after having devoted so large a portion of your time, thoughts, and energies to that particular line of service, how acceptable would have been the pursuit and how much you would regret the loss of it. Still you have a fine profession before you, and one which to my ideas would be more agreeable than colonial politics, of which, perhaps, I have had an overdose *usque ad nauseam*.

"Many thanks for your offer so kindly made to indoctrinate G. Bowen. He returns to Corfu probably on Thursday, and I have engaged him to dine with me on Wednesday after the levee. Will you come at seven o'clock and talk things quietly over with him? No party. I suppose you would find it more convenient to put up nearer St. James's, but I shall be very glad to give you a bed if you like.

"Yours ever,

"GORDON GAIRDNER."

The disappointment was indeed great. The hope Captain Clarke had cherished for two years was crushed, and he settled down to the routine of barrack life and duties at Colchester, feeling them rather dull and tedious after the political problems and the stirring

public life with which he had been so long occupied. It must be confessed his duties were not very stimulating. When the War Office plans for new cavalry barracks at Colchester were sent to him, in the usual way, for report, that is for any local objections, he took the matter too seriously, and found an outlet for his energies in metaphorically pulling the War Office designs to pieces. But not satisfied with destructive criticism, he sketched out new plans for model barracks, which he submitted to the War Office. In these he not only provided extra lavatories for the men, but a separate dining-room for each troop, a luxury which is only now being seriously considered by the authorities. The War Office acknowledged the zeal which Captain Clarke had shown and the trouble he had taken, but directed their own designs to be carried out. It was under these rather depressing circumstances that he poured out his heart to Sir William Denison, and received the following reply:—

From Sir William Denison.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SYDNEY,
"6 *September*, 1859.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"Thanks for your long letter by the last mail. I can quite understand your disinclination to fall back upon the petty details of barrack duty after your career in Victoria, where questions relatively of great importance, both professional and political, were subject to your decision; but were I you, instead of looking backwards I should cast my eyes forward, and while doing my best with the duties thrust upon me, should take up some other matter, extra professional, perhaps, to a certain extent, but which might admit of being brought into action hereafter in some of the various positions in which an officer of Engineers is often called to place himself. However, I will not

bore you with advice which one man is so seldom qualified to give to another. I may say what I should do if I were in your place, but then you and I are differently constituted, and that which would work kindly with me would be very distasteful to you. . . .

"Yours very truly,

"W. DENISON."

The good advice given by Sir William Denison had been to some extent anticipated by Clarke himself, who had already taken up work for the colony of Victoria. The suggestion he had made to the Victorian Premier from Rome had borne fruit, and the trustees of the Melbourne Public Library had voted £2,000 to make a beginning of an art gallery by the purchase of copies of celebrated works of art. Mr. Childers, the Agent-General, with whom were associated Captain Clarke and others, was entrusted with the selection. Captain Clarke was also commissioned to arrange for the Melbourne Exhibition medals with Messrs. Wyon, the well-known engravers.

But in June, 1859, he undertook a more onerous task in the purchase of war material for the defence of Victoria. The duty was a difficult one because of the changes in progress in ordnance and small arms. Rifling for both guns and small arms was coming into use, and breechloading was proposed. The merits of rival manufacturers had to be weighed and great caution exercised. Captain Clarke's consignments to Victoria were delayed in consequence, and complaints were made in the Victorian Parliament in rather strong language.

The circumstances were fully and clearly stated in a report by Colonel Anderson, commanding the Victorian Artillery Volunteers, to the Defence Minister,

Mr. M'Culloch, dated Melbourne, 17th July, 1860. In this report Colonel Anderson expressed his opinion that if Captain Clarke had been authorised to act independently of the Home Government, he would have been able to make arrangements for a supply of arms at an earlier date; but he had been instructed to procure them from the War Office through the Colonial Office, and his control over the funds had been even questioned when he refused to sanction the shipment of some hundreds of obsolete, service-worn small arms. He concluded his report by saying that Captain Clarke not only showed great firmness in his endeavours to procure a supply of arms that would do credit to his selection, but in rejecting, in the face of some pressure, the arms which were offered by the War Department. The Prime Minister, Mr. O'Shanassy, himself defended Captain Clarke in the Victorian Parliament. A copy of an indignant report from a brother-officer serving in Victoria found its way to the Inspector-General of Fortifications, Sir John Burgoyne, who wrote to Clarke :—

From Sir John Burgoyne.

"WAR OFFICE, PALL MALL,

"*22 June*, 1861.

"MY DEAR CAPTAIN CLARKE,

"I have just received from Victoria, Australia, the copy of a report made by Captain Scratchley, R.E.,[1] to the Colonial Government, which contains the following passages: 'I cannot refrain from alluding to the attacks which have been made on the Engineer officer at present employed in England in procuring arms and stores for the colony. If it were publicly known (and it is greatly to be desired that it should be) what difficulties that officer has had to encounter in carrying out the important duty entrusted to him, praise instead of

[1] Afterwards Major-General Sir Peter Scratchley, K.C.M.G.

censure would be awarded to him. . . . The attacks made upon that officer are in my opinion most unjustifiable, and not warranted by circumstances.'

"Perhaps you are already aware that such attacks have been made, I presume in the colony, and that Captain Scratchley is defending you. I find, however, that in the War Department *here* it has been stated that you had raised all sorts of objections and difficulties to proposed supplies of arms and ammunition and stores, and if such remarks reached the colony, of course it would occasion attacks on you. I only mention these matters to you in case you are not aware of them. You are no doubt quite prepared to show that you have done what was for the best.

"Yours faithfully,

"J. F. BURGOYNE."

Captain Clarke had done what he believed was for the best, and he was as little disturbed by the adverse criticism of his action by the Victorian Parliament as he was by those of some War Office officials who tried to pass on obsolete arms to the colony, but were baffled by his firmness. This work for Victoria continued to occupy some of his spare time until 1863, and the only advantage he derived from it was the deferment of the date of his going on foreign service until the end of that year, to enable him to close his accounts with the Victorian Government.

Various other interesting subjects outside the scope of his official duties engaged his attention at this time. In 1860 he drew up a scheme for the disposal of the Crown lands in British Columbia, which the Duke of Newcastle sent to the Governor for his guidance.[1] In March of the same year, before the Select Committee on Corrupt Practices at Elections, he gave evidence

[1] See Blue Book, British Columbia, part iii., 1860, p. 179 *et seq.* Parliamentary Papers, vol. xliv., in the British Museum.

which was favourable to the purity of elections in Victoria in his time. In the following year he was examined by the Committee on Colonial Military Expenditure, when he explained how the Volunteer Force of Victoria had originated in 1854 in the desire to help the mother country at the time of the Crimean War. He also expressed the opinion that it would be perfectly safe to withdraw the Infantry regiment quartered in Australia, and to let the Imperial garrison consist exclusively of Artillery.

In June, 1862, Captain Clarke was transferred from the Colchester District to the Birmingham District, where he took over the R.E. command from Lieutenant-Colonel Gother Mann, C.B. He had not been many weeks in Birmingham when he helped to found the Colonial Emigration Society, and became a member of its committee. Mr. Childers, writing to him on the 2nd September, said: "I think your Emigration Society is likely to be of very great service, and that you are quite right in promoting and joining it."

In the autumn of the year he received the offer of the post of aide-de-camp to the Inspector-General of Fortifications, Sir John Burgoyne, temporarily. As it was a staff appointment which would certainly keep him at home while he held it, and might have the effect of removing his name to the bottom of the foreign service roster, he gladly accepted it. But the pleasant anticipation of moving to London did not last long. The offer had been made to him after objections had been raised to the reappointment of Captain the Hon. George Wrottesley, R.E.[1] These objections were unexpectedly removed, and Captain Wrottesley was appointed, Sir John Burgoyne sending the

[1] Son-in-law of Sir John Burgoyne, now a Major-General.

following explanatory and apologetic letter to Captain Clarke :—

From General Sir John Fox Burgoyne.

"WAR OFFICE, PALL MALL,
"21 *November*, 1862.

"MY DEAR CAPTAIN CLARKE,

"I am very sorry to think that I may have led you into inconvenient arrangements and impressions on the subject of your joining me as an aide-de-camp, but I did it with the most favourable intentions towards you, and for my own satisfaction under the one event of my not being able to have Wrottesley.

"After the Duke had decided that it would be wrong to nominate Wrottesley, I at once made a formal application for you. I could not account for the delay in making the appointment. It now turns out that Sir George Lewis, without any interference on my part, direct or indirect, was persuaded that there was no sufficient reason for preventing Wrottesley from coming to me, and on his own representation to the Duke has induced H.R.H. to revoke his first objection, and Wrottesley is now permitted to have the appointment.

"I am really sorry that this issue, in which I cannot say that I do not feel a deep interest, should have become a cause of embarrassment and uncomfortableness to you, my dear Captain Clarke.

"Yours very faithfully,
"J. F. BURGOYNE."

The following letters refer to this disappointment :—

To Mr. William Hislop Clarke.

"BIRMINGHAM, *Thursday evening.*

"MY DEAR UNCLE,

"How are you? I see your name now and then in Chancery cases in the *Times*, and I conclude from that you are tolerably well.

"I have for the present been sold, and lost the A.D.C., but I suppose it will yet be all right as I have now a grievance, a thing I have never been able to get

hold of before in my life, and if it comes to the worst I must work it.

"There are to be three or four new judges for India. Make a push for one! I am going to-morrow to Wortley, Lord Wharncliffe's, and on Saturday week to Cantley, Wallbanke Childers's, and from there I am to visit Hickleton, Sir C. Wood's, and if I can drop a word I will.

"I have just come back from a visit to —— in Northamptonshire. What a lucky fellow he was to marry an heiress with such a pot of money. I suppose he must have £30,000 a year. In 1855 he was a sub., and an ugly one, in a marching regiment of 'Fut.'

"Yours, etc.,

"ANDIE."

The next letter is from Mr. Charles Mills, afterwards Lord Hillingdon:—

From Mr. Charles Mills.

"67, LOMBARD STREET,

"*December 1st*, 1862.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"I had been inquiring your whereabouts for some days before I received your letter, which reached me yesterday, as I wanted to write to you, not however as I must now, to assure you of my sincere sympathy in your disappointment in obtaining the staff appointment to Sir John Burgoyne. It does seem very hard to cancel it when matters had gone so far. . . .

"It is curious that you should mention the telegraph across the North American continent, as that was the subject upon which I was going to write to you. The matter is at present only *in limine*, and appears surrounded by obstacles, almost insurmountable, in the shape of the Hudson Bay Company, who are opposed to all innovations. If it goes on I had intended to have asked you to form one of the Board, as it is deemed very desirable to have an officer of Engineers to look into the thing, and if necessary to go out and see that all is properly done. At present, however, it does not look much like succeeding.

"The intercolonial railway is going on, and deputies from Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia are over here to arrange matters with the Duke of Newcastle. I conclude the line will be constructed under some Engineer officer, as the English Government are to guarantee the interest on the capital, taking the Provincial Bonds as security. Perhaps if you think more of it it would be as well to put in a word at the Colonial Office. At this moment I fancy there is a little fight going on, as the delegates want to make the intercolonial railway do instead of arming themselves, the force of which argument the English Government do not appear to recognise. I hope we may meet before long and talk over these matters.

"Believe me, yours very truly,
"CHARLES H. MILLS."

In the beginning of 1863 Captain Clarke had serious thoughts of going to India to join the staff of his old chief, Sir William Denison, then Governor of the Madras Presidency, and Mr. Childers, who had been consulted, wrote on the 24th February: "I have come to the conclusion that I think it will be for your interest to go to Madras"; but the idea was abandoned because Sir William Denison's term of service at Madras was drawing to a close.

In the meantime Captain Clarke's time at Birmingham passed pleasantly enough. His official duties were not too arduous. He was a frequent visitor at Four Oaks, the seat of Sir William Cradock-Hartopp, and he often went over to shoot at Packington, the Earl of Aylesford's place near Coventry. But it was at Wortley Hall, near Sheffield (which was in his district), where Lord Wharncliffe lived, that he was most at home, and where he formed many friendships, notably that with Captain F. Beauchamp Seymour, R.N., afterwards Lord Alcester. The owner of Wortley lost no

opportunity of showing Captain Clarke attention, and week-ends, shootings, and race parties there introduced him to many well-known people. The following note is one of many such :—

From Lord Wharncliffe.

"WORTLEY HALL, SHEFFIELD,
"*March 16th*, 1863.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"I hope you will come here on Thursday before Good Friday and stay on over Easter week. We shall have rather an interesting party here—Duke of Somerset, Sir F. and Lady Grey, Captain Maury, Count Strzlecki, George Tomline, Captain Ryder, and I hope Lord Clarence Paget. One of your cottages is occupied, the other not quite finished.

"Yours very truly,
"WHARNCLIFFE."

In the following September Captain Clarke was at Wortley for the Doncaster races, when the house-party included the Marchioness of Drogheda, the Hon. Penn and Mrs. Curzon, Mr. Charles and Lady Louisa Mills, Mr. and Mrs. H. B. Loch, the Hon. Mr. and Mrs. Egremont Lascelles, Captain Beauchamp Seymour, and others. But an end was put to these gaieties by orders he received for the West Coast of Africa, the *Gazette* announcing that he was to have the local rank of major while serving there.

His friend, Mr. H. B. Loch, wrote to him from Government House, Isle of Man, on the 16th October, 1863 :—

From Mr. H. B. Loch.

"I do trust, old fellow, that your stay on the Coast may not be a long one, and that you will soon return to reap the advantage of having gone, for it must give you

an additional claim to your existing ones. I think things look so like war that probably you will have to return as soon as you get out. The question connected with Denmark looks like one that may bring about unpleasant results. Mrs. Loch joins with me in good wishes for your voyage, and God grant you a safe return."

A note from Captain Beauchamp Seymour said:—

From Captain F. Beauchamp Seymour, R.N.

"I wrote ten days ago to my old shipmate and friend, Captain Battiscombe, of the *Snipe*, and asked him to look after you in the event of your falling in with him. . . . Come back in time for the next St. Leger, when I hope we may meet at Wortley."

At Cape Coast Castle Major Clarke found that although a state of war existed with the King of Ashanti, the only step taken by the Government to support Mr. Richard Pine, the Governor, was to send him four staff officers, of whom he himself was one, and some additional companies of a West India Regiment, bringing up the troops to 800 bayonets. No supplies, no transport, no hospital comforts, no means of carrying on war in a dangerous climate were sent, and sickness deprived the country of many valuable officers and men. Instead of a British invasion of Ashanti, the British Protectorate was invaded by the enemy, who after ravaging the country withdrew.[1]

Major Clarke's principal duty at the Gold Coast was to prepare barracks for the reinforcements which were never sent. In addition, he made himself gener-

[1] See *Ashanti and the Gold Coast*, by Vice-Admiral Sir John Dalrymple Hay. London, 1874.

ally useful to the Governor, acting as Chief Justice, and filling various offices vacant by sickness or death. He occupied himself mainly with the preparation of a report on the Coast and collected a great deal of valuable information. This report, which is full of interesting matter, was published in July, 1864, after his return home, and was regarded as the best description of the Coast in existence up to the time of the Ashanti Expedition of ten years later.

While at Cape Coast Castle Major Clarke had a bad attack of fever, and was given up by the medical officer attending him. A brother-officer who lived in the next room to the sick man received a case of champagne from England for Christmas, and he asked the doctor if he might give Major Clarke some. "Oh, you can give him a bottle," said the doctor, "for he won't be alive to-morrow." Major Clarke overheard the remark and called out, "Give me the champagne; I don't mean to die yet." The next day he was moved on board a man-of-war, probably the *Snipe*, and taken for a short cruise. The sea air braced him up, and he threw off the fever, but, as is generally the case with this West African fever, he suffered from occasional returns of it in after life.

Shortly after his recovery Major Clarke went home, in spite of the efforts which Colonel Edward Conrad, commanding the troops on the Gold Coast, made to induce him to remain "to see the end of our little war." There was a bigger business going on in Europe, and it was quite on the cards that Great Britain might take part with Denmark against Prussia and Austria, and Major Clarke did not care to be out of the way.

His report on the Coast was carefully considered by

Ministers, and on the 18th June, 1864, Lord de Grey,[1] War Secretary, wrote to Captain Clarke:—[2]

From Lord de Grey.

"Mr. Cardwell[3] and I have been considering the state of matters on the Gold Coast, and it is very probable that we may consider it desirable to request you to return there by the next mail for a short tour of inspection. I have asked Seton[4] to write and beg you to come and see me on Monday, but I think it best to let you know what is passing in Mr. Cardwell's mind and mine."

It turned out to be unnecessary for Captain Clarke to make another visit to the Gold Coast, and, shortly after, he was appointed Director of Works at the Admiralty, a post which had been usually held by an officer of Royal Engineers, among others by his old chief, Sir William Denison.

Some months before this post was offered to him an opportunity occurred of again serving his old colony, Victoria, and this happened just after he arrived home from Cape Coast Castle. His friend, Mr. Hugh C. E. Childers, M.P. for Pontefract and Victorian Agent-General, had met with no ordinary success in the House of Commons, and in April, 1864, was appointed Junior or Civil Lord of the Admiralty. This appointment to the Government obliged him to relinquish the Agency for Victoria, and Captain Clarke became *locum tenens* pending the arrival from Australia of a successor to Mr. Childers. While he was so acting

[1] Now Marquess of Ripon.

[2] Major Clarke reverted to the rank of captain on his return from the Gold Coast.

[3] Mr. Cardwell was Secretary of State for the Colonies.

[4] Sir Bruce Maxwell Seton, Bart., Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for War.

Agent-General for Victoria the postage from home to Australia and New Zealand was doubled, and he at once took up the cudgels on behalf of the colonies in a correspondence with the Postmaster-General from which the following extracts are taken :—

From Captain Clarke to the Postmaster-General.

". . . Having taken an active part in Victoria in arranging the principles on which was settled the postal service between the two countries, I know that the changes contemplated by the new order will give rise to a serious and very angry feeling on the part both of the local Legislatures and of the people.

"The arrangement as hitherto existing was made by agreement between the Government and the local Governments, approved of by their Legislatures, and it was regarded as a virtual compact that neither could depart from without a fresh agreement and consent. . . .

"The chief feature of the agreement was that payment was compulsory, the rates similar, and that each side should take its postage and pay one half of the contribution. . . .

"I may mention that the Post Office, early in 1860, without notice or consulting the colonies, raised the postage on newspapers to *2d.* from *1d.* on the ground of the cost of transit across the Isthmus. Mr. Childers at the time protested against this course, and the old rate was restored, the colonies, however, taking their share of the expense of transport, and, in the present instance, there is no doubt that, if reasonable grounds are shown for an increase to their subsidy, they will cheerfully grant it, but they will not quietly submit to an increase of the rates."

The Postmaster-General replied that the order was made with a view to carry out an increase in the trans-oceanic postage commenced in 1860 with Buenos Ayres and Brazil, continued in 1862 to Hong Kong and China, and in 1863 to the West Indies and the Cape of Good Hope, and that it was quite inconsistent to have the

postage to the more distant colonies of New Zealand and Australia at 6*d.* when the postage to these other places was raised to 1*s.* He pointed out that the cost of these trans-oceanic packets was very much larger than the revenue derived from the postage, and that great complaint had always been made of its cost to the Imperial revenue.

He went on to say that he believed there never was any agreement as to the amount of the postage—all that was agreed was that the Colonial and Imperial Governments should each pay half the expenses. The Imperial Government retained the right of imposing any amount of postage thought proper, and the Colonial Government could impose any postage on letters leaving Australia.

The Postmaster-General's defence was obviously weak, and Captain Clarke had no difficulty in showing that it was so. The following are a few extracts from his rejoinder:—

To the Postmaster-General.

"The agreement between this country and Australia was finally determined in 1856, four years before the trans-oceanic postage arrangements of 1860 alluded to by the Postmaster-General, and had nothing in common with it.

"The instances his lordship quotes of Buenos Ayres, Brazil, Hong Kong, China, and the West Indies are, it is quite true, 'inconsistent' when compared with Australia, for the latter divides with England the cost of the service, England bearing the burden of the whole expenditure in the case of the other countries named, and suffers no doubt a loss by doing so. But this is no reason why she should repay herself by taxing the correspondence with Australia. Besides, there is no complaint that at the present lower charges the revenue from postage with Australia has proved less than the expenditure. . . .

"It is unnecessary to allude again to the breach of faith directly involved in this increase. The rates were paraded by the Home Government as an integral portion of the entire scheme. The arrangement of each side taking its own postage was solely to avoid accounts, and had no reference to altering the rates. True no reserves were made, but it was understood then by those agreeing to the scheme that, as would be usual, if changes were necessary all original parties to the agreement should be first consulted."

CHAPTER V

DIRECTOR OF WORKS, ADMIRALTY

1864–1873

CAPTAIN CLARKE succeeded Colonel G. T. Greene, C.B., R.E., as Director of Engineering and Architectural Works at the Admiralty on the 10th August, 1864, at a period of unusual activity in the department. The recent creation of an ironclad fleet and the rapid increase in the size of battleships made new dock accommodation a pressing need. The existing docks were not only insufficient in number, but, owing to their small size, they were useless for many of the new ships. The Government had therefore decided to make large extensions of the dock accommodation at Chatham and Portsmouth, and to construct first-class docks at Cork Harbour, Keyham, Malta, and Bermuda. Subsidies were also to be granted for the construction of harbours and docks at colonial stations on condition that they were made available for H.M. ships. The total estimate for the works was six millions. The provision of these requirements, in addition to the ordinary routine work of his department, occupied the greater part of Captain Clarke's time during the nine years he was at the Admiralty, but the details of the work are of too technical a character to interest the ordinary reader and can only be referred to here in a general way.

Ten days before the date fixed for Captain Clarke to enter on his new duties he ascertained that the Lords of the Admiralty had begun their annual tour of inspection of the dockyards. This was too good an opportunity to be lost, and he obtained permission to join them. In this way he was able to see the home dockyard requirements and to obtain their lordships' views in regard to them almost before he came into office.

No sooner was this tour over than he was off to Malta, a fortnight in advance of the First Lord,[1] to see for himself into the vexed question of the site of the new dock to be constructed there. He selected a safer and more convenient site than the one that had been proposed, and by the exercise of a little tact and patience speedily overcame the objections that had been raised by the Maltese mercantile community to the appropriation of French Creek in the grand harbour to the navy. He found another suitable anchorage for the merchant shipping, and by undertaking to build new wharves before a yard of soil was excavated for the Admiralty dock, completely won over the Maltese opponents to his side. When the Duke of Somerset arrived he found the question settled to everybody's satisfaction and only awaiting his own approval.

So it was with the other big works to be carried out. Energetic action, adroit diplomacy, tact, and never-failing good temper smoothed down all difficulties and brought the new Director of Works successfully through, not only the preliminary preparations and designs for the works, but their subsequent execution.

[1] The Duke of Somerset was First Lord, Sir Sydney Dacres and Sir Alexander Milne, Sea Lords, and Mr. Childers, Civil or Junior Lord.

While immersed in official work Captain Clarke thoroughly enjoyed the recreation of mixing in London society, and it was soon after he went to the Admiralty that he joined a new and select coterie called "The Owls," whose members dined together on Mondays at clubs and private houses. It was founded by Mr. Algernon Borthwick, now Lord Glenesk,[1] and issued a publication, *The Owl,* at irregular intervals. Among the "Owls" Captain Clarke found many old friends—the Wharncliffes, Childers, Du Canes, Mr. Montagu Corry, Mr. H. D. Wolff, Lord Henry G. Lennox, and others—and made many new ones.

In 1865 Captain Clarke for the first time met his brother-officer Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel Charles George Gordon, who had lately returned from the command of the "Ever Victorious Army" in China and taken up duty at Gravesend. Gordon entered the Corps in 1852, a year before Clarke left Tasmania for Melbourne, and there had been no previous opportunity of their meeting. No two men could have been more unlike in disposition, tastes, and pursuits, and yet, or, perhaps, in consequence, they took to one another from their first meeting, and became fast friends.

Soon after this friendship began the New Zealand Government proposed to have a colonial force of its own, and it occurred to Major Du Cane that Gordon was just the man to command it. He wrote to Captain

[1] The founder says of it: "It was a social institution, and, like its namesake, did not mix with others which were and are essentially different. No one can describe the mirth of the dinners and the happiness of 'Owl' nights. It was a great success, and only stopped when all the members became too busy to give the time and care demanded for carrying it on."—*Life of the Right Hon. Hugh C. E. Childers*, vol. i. p. 146.

Clarke on the subject for the reasons stated in his letter :—

From Major E. F. Du Cane.

"45, PARLIAMENT STREET,
"*25 August*, 1865.

"DEAR CLARKE,

"If I did not really think you do like to put forward a good specimen of the Corps when you have a chance, I should be afraid of your calling me a bore. I have now a new case in which I am recommended by Childers, who has been very kind in the matter, to ask you to lend a hand. . . .

"The Home Government have acceded to a proposal of the New Zealand Ministry to form a local force, but it is not yet clear whether this will be a colonial army, or under the Horse Guards (though a local force) like the Cape Mounted Rifles.

"The man to command such a force and to stamp out for ever the Maori rebellion is Charlie Gordon, whose exploits in China (only paralleled by those of Sesostris) you know all about. He is in some respects a born general.

"The appointment rests with the New Zealand Ministry, and Childers tells me that a strong recommendation from you to Weld[1] would have great effect. Hence this letter.

"Gordon is a good engineer, and as road-making and war go together in these places the selection becomes still more appropriate.

"Yours very truly,
"E. F. DU CANE."[2]

Nothing came of the suggestion, and Gordon remained for some years in a position of comparative obscurity at Gravesend. It was during these years that

[1] Mr. Weld was at that time Premier of New Zealand, where Captain Clarke had met him many years before. He became Sir Frederick A. Weld, G.C.M.G., and a Colonial Governor.

[2] Major Du Cane was afterwards Major-General Sir E. F. Du Cane, K.C.B., Inspector of Prisons.

Captain Clarke had frequent opportunities of meeting him and cementing their friendship.

The year before Captain Clarke entered the Admiralty a proposal was made to extend the Admiralty Pier at Dover for another 600 feet, at a cost of £200,000, but was not sanctioned by the Government on account mainly of the cost. Captain Clarke had a strong opinion of the importance of a harbour at Dover, and was most anxious that the continuation and completion of the original scheme should be approved, but for the time he contented himself with endeavouring to get the west pier extended. He revised the proposal of the previous year, and submitted a less costly scheme to the Government. Lord Palmerston, then Prime Minister, was opposed to spending any large sums on Dover, but on the suggestion of the Duke of Somerset, he consented to hear what Captain Clarke had to say for the project before vetoing the inclusion of a vote for it in the Naval Estimates. After an interview with him at Cambridge House (Lord Palmerston's residence, now the Naval and Military Club) the Prime Minister was persuaded that Captain Clarke's view was right and sanctioned the insertion of the vote.

A matter outside Captain Clarke's duties at the Admiralty occupied some of his spare time in 1865 and the following years. The general question of the accommodation of the public departments had been under consideration for some years, but arrangements were only then being made to provide new Foreign and India Offices. In 1866 a Royal Commission, presided over by Lord John Manners, now Duke of Rutland, was appointed to report on the provision of accommodation for the other departments, and to it

Captain Clarke submitted a scheme which he had drawn up in the previous year. A block plan and explanatory memorandum are to be found in the Report of the Commission presented to Parliament in 1868. He designed a magnificent pile of buildings for a site between the Treasury Buildings in Whitehall and Spring Gardens, in which he concentrated the public offices, with residences for some of the Ministers. A model of the design was exhibited at the Albert Hall, and later at the Bethnal Green Museum. A serious objection to his proposal was that it involved the removal of the Horse Guards, a building whose simple and well-proportioned façades London could ill afford to lose.

Mr. Ruskin expressed a very favourable opinion of Colonel Clarke's designs. Sir William Denison wrote: "I like your plan better than that recommended by the Commission"; and Mr. W. Sang, who went carefully into the merits of the scheme as compared with that submitted by Mr. Gilbert Scott,[1] R.A., wrote:—

"Colonel Clarke's ideas admit of superior accommodation, possess more stateliness and symmetry, and therefore will, if carried out, produce an infinitely superior architectural effect. Colonel Clarke's plan appears on the face of it a better digested and more comprehensive scheme than the other, and with trifling additions and slight alterations bids fair to be by far the most beautiful and practical arrangement amongst the many proposals hitherto submitted."

Another London improvement to which Colonel Clarke gave some attention was the new road to be con-

[1] The distinguished Gothic architect, afterwards Sir Gilbert Scott.

structed from Charing Cross to the Embankment. He submitted a plan for this road which avoided the demolition of Northumberland House, and the Duke of Northumberland wrote to thank him for his effort to save an historic house from destruction, observing that "Our public authorities show no consideration for the rights of individuals, or for the value of old associations."

Captain Clarke had been promoted to be regimental lieutenant-colonel on the 6th July, 1867, and a few days later he took part in the festivities on the occasion of the visit of the Sultan of Turkey to Queen Victoria. He had arranged to go down to the great naval review at Spithead, and to take photographs of the royalties in the Queen's yacht from another vessel, and the captain of the royal yacht wrote to give him particulars of the movements of the Queen and the Sultan on the 17th July :—

From Captain H.S.H. Prince Leiningen.

"PORTSMOUTH, 11 *July*, 1867.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"The Queen receives the Sultan on board the yacht at eleven a.m. on 17th (which would be a good opportunity for shot No. 1) in Osborne Bay. We then go through the fleet and proceed as far as the Bullock Patch Buoy outside the Nab. There we stop, and the fleet, having weighed in the meantime, will pass the yacht in two columns. This would be a good opportunity for shot No. 2. The only question is whether you will be able to get there in time in the old *Echo*, supposing you were to be present first at the meeting in Osborne Bay. From Portsmouth to Osborne the Sultan proceeds in the *Osborne*, and I suppose will land from her after the review, unless we take him into harbour in this vessel. I will mention the photographing business to Her Majesty, so that

perhaps she may go on the bridge when she comes on board at Osborne.

"I remain in haste, sincerely yours,

"LEININGEN.

"The Queen returns straight to Osborne from Spithead probably in *Alberta*."

The photographs appear to have been successful, for the late Duke of Teck and other royalties wrote to Sir Andrew to send them copies and to thank him.

Two months later Colonel Clarke married Mary Margaret, elder daughter of Charles William Mac-Killop, Esq., formerly of the Indian Civil Service, and of Dorcas Mary, his wife, daughter of Hay Tweedale Stewart of Appin and Mary Margaret of the Irish family of Mahon. The wedding took place at St. George's, Hanover Square, on the 17th September, 1867, and the rite was solemnised by the Rev. E. L. Walsh, Chaplain to the Forces, whose friendship with Colonel Clarke dated from the time they were together at Colchester.

Of the many letters of congratulation that Colonel Clarke received, none gave him greater pleasure than the following few lines from his old chief, Sir William Denison :—

From Sir William Denison.

"UNITED SERVICE CLUB,

"26 *September*, 1867.

"Hail Benedict, the married man! You have been some time thinking about it, my dear Clarke, but better late than never, and, take my word for it, that a man is but half a man without a wife. Pray say everything to Mrs. Clarke which may most assure her that I take an interest in your and her happiness.

"Believe me, yours very truly,

"W. DENISON."

There was one other letter that was equally valued, and that was from Colonel Gordon, "Chinese" Gordon, as he was then called. It was accompanied by a book of family prayers,[1] and ran as follows:—

From Lieutenant-Colonel Charles G. Gordon,

"GRAVESEND, 28 *July*, 1867.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"I feel a degree of diffidence in writing to congratulate you on your approaching marriage, but I must do so, believing that you will take my remarks in a kind way, and as written by a friend who likes you beyond the short span of time which constitutes life on this earth; it is not a very lasting friendship which cares only for the next fifty or sixty years and has no heed whether a man may be with his friend after that period.

"We all know too well from our hearts that this fleeting world is not our rest, and that let us have what we will it does not satisfy, and we must look to the slowly advancing but inevitable hour when we will stand face to face with that great question (which even sometimes now presents itself), To what is all this tending? 'For what hath man of all his labour, and of the vexation of his heart, wherein he hath laboured under the sun? For all his days are sorrows and his travail grief; yea, his heart taketh not rest in the night.'

"But, my dear Clarke, my object is not to make you sad in writing to you. You are happy now, and my inmost wish is to increase (with God's help) that happi-

[1] *Family Prayers*, by the late Henry Thornton, Esq., M.P., 44th edition, Hatchard, London, 1866. On the flyleaf Gordon had written the following texts: "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by My name, thou art Mine. When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, and through the rivers they shall not overflow thee, when thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle on thee. For I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel, thy Saviour. Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow which flieth by day, nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday. A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand, but it shall not come nigh thee."

ness, and that you and your future wife may have more and more of that peace which passes all understanding. This peace is to be had only in believing in Christ Jesus, who was given to us that whosoever should believe in Him should not perish but have everlasting life.

"And now I will conclude with a few words which I would earnestly ask you to bear in mind, even if you do not agree in what I have written (I need, perhaps, scarcely say that I feel what I say):

"Whenever you turn to think much of these matters, do not believe the dictates of your own heart with respect to God. He is a kind, loving Father, more, much more willing to forgive than we are to seek His forgiveness. He yearns over His creatures and pleads with them—'Turn ye, turn ye! Why will you die?' 'Come now, and let us reason together; though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.' 'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; buy wine and milk without money and without price.' 'Come unto me ye weary and heavily laden with sin and sorrows, and I will give you rest, everlasting rest, which no man can take from you.'

"These are but a few of the entreaties which the God of mercy makes to you and me and to all who will listen. We have to bring nothing with us. He wants nothing from us but our hearts. Many say, Do this and thou shalt be saved. He does not say so. He knows we cannot do anything of ourselves, and knowing our infirmities, tells us to trust in what He has done, to believe in His Son and have eternal life.

"Perhaps you may think it very strange that I should write thus to you, but I have, through the knowledge of the Lord, been brought from the state of 'a troubled sea, when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt,' to that of a peaceful calm; and if any word I might speak could give or increase peace in my friend's heart, I should be unkind if I did not offer it. To the world your marriage is an ordinary event, to you and your future wife nothing could be more momentous; it far surpasses in importance the setting up or throwing down of kingdoms.

"I send you, my dear Clarke, a small book of family prayers, the use of which will bring a blessing on your household. *Do not* answer my letter, and do not be offended with "Yours very sincerely,

"C. G. GORDON.

"P.S.—I may add that this emanates not from my last meeting with you, for you have been daily in my thoughts for months, and I am sure there are few who more earnestly desire your happiness now and for ever and ever and ever. You will not mind your wife reading this. We may never see one another on this earth, but it is my trust our Lord will make us to know one another in those realms of light where we will have our minds free from mists and clouds, and shall know even as we are known."

A note from Colonel Gordon, asking Colonel Clarke's assistance for one of the lads whom he called his "kings," is also preserved.

From Lieutenant-Colonel C. G. Gordon.

"GRAVESEND, 30 *November*, 1867.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"Would you kindly tell me what course I should pursue to place on board the training ship *Wellington* a lad of sixteen years of age, by name Henry Muirhead, height five feet? He has been accustomed to a seafaring life, and is an active, likely young fellow. The *Duke of Wellington* is at Portsmouth, but I do not know any of her officers. I think there would be no difficulty in getting the lad entered if you would give me the recommendation of someone in the Admiralty. I hope you are well. I have not yet had time to visit you since your marriage.

"Yours sincerely,

"C. G. GORDON."

In January, 1868, there was some talk of putting up Colonel Clarke to contest Chester in the Liberal interest at the general election of that year, but the proposal

was abandoned when it was ascertained that he could not keep his appointment at the Admiralty if he entered the House of Commons.

Amid the many activities and engagements of his life during the London season of 1868 it was a pleasant break to run down for the week-end with his wife to Portsmouth, in response to an invitation from Captain Beauchamp Seymour couched in the following terms:—

From Captain F. Beauchamp Seymour, R.N.

"H.M.S. *Victory*,
"5 *May*, 1868.

"MY DEAR ANDY,

"What are you going to do Saturday and Sunday? Will you and Mrs. Clarke do me the honour of coming to me from Saturday to Monday, either this week or next? I can really put you up very well, and Mrs. C.'s maid shall be made love to by my coxswain (who is lonely *par parenthèse*), and if we have fine weather the jaunt will do Mrs. Clarke and you a great deal of good. You may tell Mrs. Clarke, with my respectful compliments, that the *Victory* does not lay in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean.

"Ever yours sincerely,
"F. BEAUCHAMP SEYMOUR."

In the autumn of this year Mr. Charles Du Cane, the Civil Lord of the Admiralty in Sir John Pakington's administration, accepted the government of Tasmania, and wrote Colonel Clarke the following farewell:—

From Mr. Charles Du Cane.

"8, CHESTERFIELD STREET, MAYFAIR,
"4 *October*, 1868.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"I have been living in hope of getting one more glimpse of you before starting, but the last day has arrived, and we actually leave London to-morrow

morning at nine o'clock, and Plymouth at daybreak the next day. Let me at all events tell you that I shall carry away a most pleasant and grateful memory of the time we were associated together at the Admiralty, together with a strong conviction that the Board have a most able Director of Works, and that no department of the Admiralty is in a better state of organisation, or gives its superintending Lord so little trouble.

"I hold you in no slight measure responsible for my acceptance of my present appointment. I can only hope that on my arrival I shall realise that life of *otium cum dignitate* you painted so vividly, and that I and my future subjects may take mutually to each other.

"Ever yours sincerely,

"CHARLES DU CANE."

The first of Colonel Clarke's great works to be completed was the Bermuda Floating Dock. It was finished in the course of the summer, and launched in the autumn of 1868. Although a small business in comparison with the gigantic works at Chatham and Portsmouth, it attracted more public attention, and made Colonel Clarke's name, in some ways, better known than the more important undertakings. There was nothing new in the idea; other nations had floating iron docks; but this one differed in several respects from all others that had hitherto been constructed. Moreover, it was capable of receiving an ironclad of the *Minotaur* class, and was shaped like a ship with cutwaters, to enable it to be towed across the Atlantic.

The launching of the Bermuda Dock took place at North Woolwich on the 3rd September. The ceremony was performed by Mrs. Clarke, assisted by Miss Campbell, a daughter of the contractor. The first attempt to move this huge structure, weighing nine thousand tons, was a failure, but at the second effort the dock glided easily down the ways into the Thames,

and was towed round to the River Medway. The construction of this dock was not so difficult an enterprise as the task of navigating it to its destination. This was, however, safely accomplished in a voyage of six weeks' duration in June and July, 1869, when it was towed out across the Atlantic by a succession of H.M. ships.[1]

In 1869 Colonel Clarke paid an official visit to the new Prussian dockyard at Wilhelmshaven, and witnessed the opening ceremony. The Prussians were already beginning to look forward to the possession of sea-power, and Colonel Clarke reported that, as a war harbour, Wilhelmshaven was a great success. He found that two of the dry docks were as large as those he was building at Chatham, but he did not consider their section as good. He also visited the harbour of Boulogne, at the invitation of the Municipality, to advise as to the works which were desirable to improve the harbour for the cross-channel passenger traffic.

The term of five years for which Colonel Clarke had been appointed to the Admiralty expired in August of this year, but his services were too valuable to be dispensed with. He was not only reappointed for a further term of five years, but he was created a Companion of the Bath, Civil Division, in acknowledgment of the good work he had already done.

In the following November the Suez Canal was formally opened by the Emperor of the French, Napoleon III. The British Admiralty was represented on the occasion by Admiral Sir Alexander Milne, who reported that it was "a work of vast magnitude, reflecting the highest honour on the intelligent perseverance and energy of M. Ferdinand de Lesseps . . . of

[1] See Appendix for particulars of this voyage.

which he and the French nation may be justly proud."[1] The Admiralty decided to send two experts to obtain the fullest information about the Canal and to report to what extent it might be expected to be available for the purposes of Her Majesty's naval service, including the transport service to the East. Colonel Clarke and Captain G. H. Evans, Hydrographer to the Navy, were selected for the mission.[2] They left England on the 13th January, 1870, and, at the special request of the Italian Government, Colonel Clarke spent two days at Brindisi on his way out to inspect and report upon its harbour and works. Arrived in Egypt, more than a fortnight was occupied in the careful examination of the Suez Canal and the works for its maintenance. On the return of the Commissioners to London, they presented a joint report, in which they expressed their opinion that the Canal was available for the transit of H.M. ships employed in the Eastern seas, except large ironclads and transports, and that the cost of its maintenance should not be excessive. They emphasised the point that want of breadth alone prevented the

[1] Without in any way depreciating the credit due to M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, it is well to point out that the conception of the Canal was a British one. As far back as 1840, Captain James Vetch, R.E., F.R.S., proposed a scheme not essentially different from that eventually carried out, and published a work in 1843 entitled *Inquiry into the Means of Establishing a Ship Canal between the Mediterranean and Red Seas.* He laid his proposals before Lord John Russell's Administration in 1846, but the attitude of Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary, was so absolutely opposed to the policy of the canal between the two seas, as one fraught with danger to British interests in the far East, that Captain Vetch was unable to proceed further in the matter. Nine years later, after visiting Egypt and discussing the Canal with the Khedive, M. de Lesseps published in Paris in 1855 *The Isthmus of Suez Question, Submitted to the Public Opinion of England,* in which he quoted at some length Captain Vetch's work in favour of his own plan.

[2] Colonel Clarke had already had something to do with Egypt, for in 1868 he was sole arbitrator in a dispute between the Egyptian Government and Messrs. Maclean and Abernethy.

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Canal being a complete success as a permanent navigable route for the largest ships from sea to sea, and declared that to widen it would be "a most feasible undertaking, the cost of which could be calculated with accuracy."

This visit to Egypt nearly produced a result of which the public has no knowledge to this day. Colonel Clarke was so struck with the advantages of the Canal that he thought it ought to be under British control. He strongly recommended that the Canal should be bought up by an English company formed for the purpose. His proposal was supported by Mr. Childers, then First Lord of the Admiralty, who brought the matter before the Cabinet.[1] M. de Lesseps and the French shareholders were then by no means opposed to being bought out at a good price, as the chance of dividends seemed remote. The outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War interfered with the project, and on the 24th August, 1870, Lord Granville wrote from Walmer Castle: "Gladstone and Lowe do not like the proposal to have anything to do with the purchase of the Suez Canal, and it certainly would not be an easy moment to concert anything on the subject with France." Writing the next day to Colonel Clarke, Mr. Childers said: "I am sorry, and have done my best. Granville was with me, Cardwell and Lowe the other way. Gladstone at first was my way."

When Lord Beaconsfield, in 1875, purchased the four millions' worth of Suez Canal shares, those who denounced the transaction little knew that some of their

[1] There is a vague reference to this on page 230, volume i. of Mr. Childers's Life. Apparently Mr. Childers did not preserve the papers on the subject, but Sir Andrew Clarke did. The year was not 1869, as stated in the footnote, but 1870.

own leaders were in favour of a more extensive purchase in 1870.

Soon after the outbreak of the Franco-German War, Colonel Clarke drew up a scheme for the increase of the *personnel* of the Navy to 180,000 men; of this number 60,000 were to be on the Establishment and 120,000 in the Reserve.[1] The boldness of the proposal may be gathered from the fact that the returns for the previous year showed an Establishment of 40,000 and a Reserve of 15,000. A small departmental committee, over which Captain George Willes, R.N., C.B.,[2] presided, and of which Colonel Clarke was a member, investigated the subject, but its report with the evidence was pigeon-holed at the Admiralty. Long afterwards Sir Andrew Clarke used to cite the treatment accorded to the work of this committee as a typical illustration of the bureaucratic ideal: "Inquire, collect information, hear evidence, formulate opinions, and then bottle it all up so that no one shall be any the wiser."

To turn from this fruitless effort on behalf of the Navy to the more prosaic duties of Colonel Clarke's department. During the parliamentary session of 1870, the increased cost of Chatham dockyard extension had given rise to criticism, and a motion for an inquiry by a select committee was made by Mr. Cawley in the House of Commons on the 31st May. The motion was supported by some members of the late Conservative Government who were responsible for the increase, but Mr. Corry, the former First Lord, remained silent. Mr. G. O. Trevelyan spoke for the Admiralty, and declared in the course of his remarks that the present Director

[1] An outline of Sir Andrew's scheme for manning the Navy is given in the Appendix.

[2] Afterwards Admiral Sir George Willes, G.C.B.

of Works had a strong hand and showed it by never exceeding his estimates.[1] The motion was defeated, but Colonel Clarke was not at all pleased with the attitude of his Conservative friends. He wrote warmly to Captain Stanley,[2] who spoke in the debate, and to Mr. Corry,[3] who remained silent.

The former was at some pains to explain that his speech had been misreported in the *Times* newspaper, and offered, if Colonel Clarke wished, to write to the editor about it, and undertook, in any case, to see that the report in Hansard was corrected. Mr. Corry replied that he was disappointed at having been prevented by the lateness of the hour (another minute would have made it too late to divide) from explaining the reason of his vote, and that, had he spoken, he would have expressed his confidence in Colonel Clarke's supervision of the expenditure. He went on to say: "I was perfectly aware, two years ago, that it would be necessary largely to increase the original estimate, and that any responsibility incurred by the present Board in this respect was shared by mine. But for this very reason I wished for inquiry. . . . I thought the public should be satisfied by the fullest investigation, and it was on that ground alone that my vote was given."

This letter from the late First Lord, who was responsible for all the arrangements made, seemed very unsatisfactory to Colonel Clarke, and he wrote again to Mr. Corry on the subject:—

To the Rt. Hon. H. T. Corry.

"I confess the only thing that troubled me the least in the debate on Tuesday was your and Sir John

[1] See Hansard, vol. cci.

[2] Captain the Hon. Frederick Stanley, now sixteenth Earl of Derby.

[3] The Rt. Hon. Henry Thomas Corry, M.P. for Co. Tyrone.

Pakington's silence, for not a single step was taken in regard to the Chatham Extension Contract without your and his full knowledge and approval. . . . The present Board have no responsibility further than in their confirmation of your proposal . . . and the allegations made by Mr. Cawley and Mr. Samuda, cheered by Sir John Hay, were, if true at all, reflections on your administration.

"Placed in possession of the facts with which you had refreshed your memory, and which you told me on Monday seemed to you to require no investigation, the Government were satisfied that no inquiry was necessary, and thus indirectly expressed their confidence in me, and they accepted, as a whole, the responsibility of all past transactions good or bad.

"If this view is right, I fail clearly to see why you should have thought inquiry necessary on Tuesday night, as inquiry, demanded in the way it was, however triumphantly I, and those under whom I have acted, would have come out of it, implied reproach and the absence of confidence. It is this feeling, though I am very glad to have received your note, and thank you much for your expressions of kindness and faith in me, that makes it difficult for me to reconcile them with your silence and vote on Tuesday."

In the early autumn of this year a calamity befell the British Navy that was sufficiently sad in itself, but which also shook public confidence in our naval construction. H.M. new ironclad turret-ship *Captain*, designed by Captain Cowper Coles, and commanded by Captain Hugh Burgoyne, capsized in a heavy squall off Cape Finisterre at 12.15 a.m. on the 7th September, 1870, when 469 persons found a watery grave. Captain Coles was on board, and was lost. Captain Burgoyne and Mr. Childers's son, a middy, were also among those who went down in the ill-fated vessel.

Any matter that affected the reputation of Mr.

Childers as First Lord of the Admiralty was of moment to Colonel Clarke, and the foundering of the *Captain* was likely to lead to severe criticism on the administration that was responsible for her construction; but, at first, the sad loss that his friend had sustained was uppermost in his thoughts, and he sent off a special messenger, with his condolences and friendly support, to intercept Mr. Childers, who had started on a holiday tour on the very day of the catastrophe, and replied to Colonel Clarke's letter on the 12th September from Basle:—

From the Rt. Hon. H. C. E. Childers.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"Our deepest thanks for your kind note of sympathy. It has been a very great blow, especially to my poor wife, who was always thinking about the dear boy, and was so proud and fond of him. We little thought, when we got up that stormy Wednesday morning to prepare for a rough passage to Calais, that the cruel storm had taken from us our dear child.

"But after all, our loss is small compared with that of many others. Poor Mrs. Coles, Mrs. Burgoyne, or that good old man at the head of your Corps,[1] and the two or three hundred widows of the men.

"It was very good of you to send Carmichael out. We intercepted him here to-day, and as you will have heard from Dacres, we have taken your advice to go on to the mountains to-morrow, hoping to be next Sunday at St. Moritz, and perhaps the following one either in the Tyrol or at Constance. If you write please continue to do so through the Foreign Office, under care of Mr. Bonar.

"We got here on Saturday night. At noon that day we were in sight of Strasburg, and watched the bom-

[1] Field-Marshal Sir John Fox Burgoyne, Bart., G.C.B., the father of Captain Hugh Burgoyne, who commanded the *Captain*.

bardment and blazing of the town. We could see the shells burst quite clearly, and the fires, especially one near a church, not the cathedral. I had the previous evening a long talk with Count Harcourt, one of MacMahon's aides-de-camp, who was captured (before the capitulation) at Sedan. He told me among others two things: One, that MacMahon received positive orders from Paris (he took them to MacMahon in bed) to make the advance *viâ* Sedan towards Metz; that from the first he knew it was hopeless, but that the orders were positive. The other was that Wimpffen told the Emperor that he could cut his way out of Sedan, but with the certain loss of half the army, and that the Emperor declined to make such a sacrifice. He says the Emperor appeared quite well, and rode about for hours.

"The sight of the thousands and tens of thousands of wounded and of French prisoners has been very sad.

"Ever yours,

"HUGH C. E. CHILDERS."

The verdict of the court-martial on the loss of the *Captain*, which was delivered on the 8th October, practically blamed the Admiralty Board of 1866 for having constructed an unseaworthy ship. Mr. Childers at once prepared to return to London, and Colonel Clarke, who was in Scotland at the time, received a note from an Admiralty official, dated 8th October, saying: "Mr. Childers returns in a day or two, and I beg you to return at once, as it is not right that he should be left alone. He is very vexed at R.'s evidence. R. blusters about open fight, and everyone seems afraid of him." Colonel Clarke responded to the summons, and was at Mr. Childers's right hand through this trying time, and assisted him in the preparation of the famous minute on the *Captain*.

On the 19th January, 1871, Colonel Clarke received

a short note from Mr. Alfred Denison: "I know you will be grieved to learn that my brother William died to-day at 2.15, just as I was entering the door of his house. He had only been ill a few days." The death of his oldest and most revered friend was a great blow to Colonel Clarke. Of all the men with whom he had been associated during his service, none exercised so great an influence over him as Sir William Denison, and whenever he referred to him it was always as "My old chief."

In the following month the new dock at Malta was completed, and the opening ceremony was performed on the 15th February by the daughter of Vice-Admiral Sir Hastings Yelverton, Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Fleet, who wrote about it to Colonel Clarke:—

From Vice-Admiral Sir Hastings Yelverton.

"MALTA, *20th February*, 1871.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"I must write one line to tell you of the successful opening of your great work, or at least one of your great undertakings. You are no doubt aware that I asked Mr. Childers to allow the new dock to be called after the Duke of Somerset. This was granted by Admiralty letter, and accordingly, last Thursday, the 15th, at three p.m., the ceremony of placing the last stone in its place was performed by my child, and the dock was declared complete and named the Somerset Dock.

"The day was fine, and all the arrangements made by Admiral Key very judicious, so that the *Caledonia* steamed straight in from her moorings amidst the cheers and acclamations of, I may safely say, all Malta.

"Believe me, yours most truly,

"H. R. YELVERTON."

The following letter from the Admiralty to the Colonial Office conveyed their Lordships' appreciation of Colonel Clarke in official terms:—

From the Secretary to the Admiralty.

"ADMIRALTY, *17th March*, 1871.

"SIR,—I am commanded by My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you herewith for the information of the Earl of Kimberley a copy of a letter dated 22nd February last from Vice-Admiral Sir H. Yelverton, reporting the successful opening of the new dock at Malta, which has been named the Somerset Dock.

"The selection of the present site for this dock is due to the engineering skill of Colonel Andrew Clarke, R.E., C.B., the Director of Engineering and Architectural Works of this department, who recommended it to their Lordships at a time when it was proposed to construct the dock on another site, where My Lords believe it would not have succeeded to the same extent, even if it had not proved a failure, and in spite of great difficulties Colonel Clarke has carried out this great undertaking without a deviation from his original plans.

"My Lords desire to bring under the Earl of Kimberley's notice the special services rendered both to the Navy and the colony by Colonel Clarke, to whom the proposals which have been so successfully carried out are solely due.

"I have, etc.,

"VERNON LUSHINGTON."

In August of the same year another great work was partially finished, and some of the Portsmouth docks were formally opened. Mr. Childers, writing to congratulate Colonel Clarke on the successful completion of the undertaking, said: "Don't mind waiting a little for honours. They will come with a run when the time comes." This prophecy, however, did not come true.

Colonel Clarke's old friend, Rear-Admiral Beauchamp Seymour, now in command of the detached squadron, kept up a correspondence with him, and the following letter refers to the harbour and dock at Cape Town, to the cost of which the Admiralty were largely contributing :—

From Rear-Admiral F. Beauchamp Seymour.

"SIMON'S BAY, CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,
"25 *February*, 1872.

"MY DEAR ANDY,

"I remember when Hornby first started that you were on pins and needles for fear that his squadron would not keep company, and that they would reach the Cape one after the other at convenient intervals. He managed to keep his lot together, and we have done the same, although we had our share of bad weather between Rio and the Cape. We arrived on the 14th, and I sail to-morrow for Bombay.

"I went to Cape Town on Wednesday last in consequence of a request from the Harbour Commissioners that I would look over the breakwater works and the site of the proposed dock. In my opinion it is a case of the cart before the horse, as I think that before beginning a dock the breakwater should have been lengthened 400 yards in an easterly (by compass) direction, which would then have afforded shelter to large vessels at anchor in Table Bay in a gale from any point between N.W. and N.N.E., which it does not now, and the strong inset along the south jetty, which now is dreaded even in a strong breeze, could not take place. The Harbour Commissioners, however, are all for the dock first. Its dimensions are staked out, and the convicts are already at work digging down the hillside, which is to be removed to make way for it.

"We are getting on very well in the squadron, and only five men (four ordinaries and a bandsman) have given us the slip here. The police arrangements are good. Write me a line and tell me your news.

"I think you are doing wisely in giving £30,000 towards the dock, but do put it on about the breakwater, which at present is nearly useless, so far as large vessels are concerned. *Inconstant* and French ship *Jean Bart* got no protection from it when they were in Table Bay last week.

"Good-bye, old man. My kindest remembrances to the lovely Lady A. C.

"Ever yours most sincerely,

"F. B. SEYMOUR."

During the year 1872 Colonel Clarke was much occupied with the condition of Alderney breakwater. Commenced in 1847, large sums had been spent upon it by the Admiralty and upon defences to protect it by the War Department. The breakwater had been repeatedly damaged by storms, and Colonel Clarke had visited it several times, and taken measures to repair the damage. In 1871, in conjunction with Sir John Hawkshaw, he drew up a valuable report on this harbour. The winter storms of 1871–2 had occasioned such serious further damage that the question arose whether it would not be better to abandon it rather than go on spending annually large sums in maintenance, and a select committee of the House of Lords was appointed to advise. Colonel Clarke gave evidence before this committee on several occasions. He pointed out that over a million and a quarter sterling had been spent on the breakwater, and that if it were abandoned it must be demolished, otherwise what was left of the harbour would afford a base to an enemy; he estimated that the demolition would be a very expensive matter. He advocated maintaining the breakwater at an annual cost of £6,000 or £7,000 a year, and in 1873 the Government adopted his view.

In August, 1872, the last stone of Portland Break-

water, of which the first stone had been laid by the Prince Consort in July, 1849, was laid by the Prince of Wales, now H.M. the King, and bore the inscription: "These are imperial works and worthy kings." Colonel Clarke had already arranged with the Great Western Railway Company to connect their line with Portland, so as to facilitate the coaling arrangements of the fleet.

In the following year he and Sir John Hawkshaw made a joint report on Dover Harbour. They proposed a plan to combine naval and military requirements with a commercial harbour, for which the Dover Harbour Board had brought in a Bill, and the plan recommended is substantially the same as that now carried out.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke became a full colonel in the Army on the 6th July, 1872, and in the following April he was created a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in recognition of his services. Mr. Goschen, then First Lord of the Admiralty, wrote to him:—

From the Rt. Hon. G. J. Goschen.

"Your eminent public services, and the untiring devotion which you have shown in carrying out the great works entrusted to you, well merit the bestowal of the honour in question, and the colonies having derived conspicuous advantages from your services as an engineer makes it very appropriate that you should receive this colonial distinction. I congratulate you very cordially upon it."

From the fact that Colonel Clarke was already a C.B. it seems to have been very generally thought that his knighthood was also in the Order of the Bath. The Press so telegraphed the news to the Antipodes, and

under this misapprehension his old colleague at the Admiralty, Sir Charles Du Cane, Governor of Tasmania, wrote to him :—

From Sir Charles Du Cane.

"The enclosed telegram in our local *Mercury* will give you an idea of the rapidity with which news reaches us here nowadays, and will also serve to show you how great a man you are now become. Pray accept my best congratulations on being made a K.C.B., though they will not reach you quite so speedily as the intelligence has come to us. Long may you live to wear the collar of the Order which has been so worthily bestowed on you."

Even in the Lord Chamberlain's department there was some confusion, for when Colonel Clarke proposed to be presented at the next levee as "Sir Andrew," Sir Spencer Ponsonby Fane informed him that as he had not yet been knighted by the Queen he had put him down in the levee list as Colonel Clarke, K.C.B., and told him to put that on his card!

No one was more active and disinterested in helping others to honours than Sir Andrew, and of many letters acknowledging his kind advocacy of claims an extract may be quoted from one from Admiral Sir William King Hall in 1871 :—

From Admiral Sir William King Hall.

"I must express my sincere thanks to you before anyone, for I feel so sure that to your most warm, persevering, and disinterested friendship and advocacy of my services I am indebted for the K.C.B. that it amounts to a moral certainty. I can assure you that if any circumstance would have added to my pleasure it would have been seeing your eminent public services recognised at the same time. But I do hope that justice will speedily award it."

It is almost needless to say that when Colonel Clarke got the K.C.M.G. Sir William King Hall was one of the first to send his felicitations, while another old and trusted colleague at the Admiralty, Sir Sydney Dacres, wrote: "Well, my dear friend, I am glad this shabby Government have at last shown sufficient appreciation of your strong claims on the country as to pay you the first instalment of their long debt to you."

As some of the more important works under his direction were either finished or were approaching completion, Colonel Clarke turned his thoughts once more to the colonial service. He confided his wishes to his friend, Lord Henry Gordon Lennox, who wrote to him :—

From Lord Henry Gordon Lennox.

"Of course, my dear Andrew, I would do anything to further your wishes. I only deeply regret the thought of so long a separation. I am grieved to hear of Mrs. Clarke's illness, and was about to write and ask you and her to look in here and meet the Duke of Cambridge on Friday evening between ten and eleven.

"Yours, HENRY."

In 1872 his name was duly entered on the Colonial Office List of Candidates for Governorships, and in May of the following year Lord Kimberley offered him the government of the Straits Settlements, which he accepted.

No sooner had he been appointed to the post than he was called upon, on account of his knowledge of the Gold Coast, to advise the Secretary of State for War, Mr. Cardwell, on the Ashanti question, which during the year had assumed grave proportions; and for a time it seemed possible that his services might be required at the Gold Coast instead of Singapore.

He drew up a memorandum (accompanied by an itinerary to Kumasi), in which he stated the measures he thought necessary. He deprecated the employment of a British expedition, and considered that a sufficient force was already on the Coast, should the measures he suggested be adopted. He offered his services to proceed to the Gold Coast and carry out his own scheme, if he were given a free hand to arrange the difficulties that had arisen with King Koffee. His recommendations were at first favourably considered, but eventually the Government decided that they were of too temporising a character, that the situation called for sharper methods, and that a punitive expedition from this country was necessary. Another adviser was called in. This was Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had won his laurels in the Red River Expedition two years before, and was at the time Assistant Adjutant-General at Head-quarters, and to him was given the command of the expedition. Sir Andrew was thanked officially for his advice and assistance, and suffered to depart for the Malay Peninsula, where, he was informed, "matters were much more critical and the situation more difficult than on the African coast."

In closing the narrative of Sir Andrew's time at the Admiralty, reference must not be omitted to two memorials in which he took a warm and most active interest. One was an obelisk erected in the grounds of the Royal Naval College at Greenwich, opposite the Ship Hotel, to the memory of the naval officers and bluejackets who fell in New Zealand during the Maori wars. The other was a monument to the French prisoners who died in the hulks at Chatham in the wars of 1802 to 1814, and were buried on St. Mary Island. The burial-ground was required for one of the

new docks, and Sir Andrew caused the remains to be reverently reinterred in another spot on the island, and a monument to be erected to the memory of the dead.[1]

On leaving the Admiralty in September, Sir Andrew received an official acknowledgment of his services from the Board, and also a letter from the First Lord, Mr. Goschen. They ran as follows :—

From the Secretary to the Admiralty.

"ADMIRALTY, *18th September*, 1873.

"SIR,—I am commanded by My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to inform you that they cannot allow you to vacate the office of Director of Admiralty Works, which you have so long filled, without conveying to you their appreciation of the very able and important services you have rendered to this department.

"My Lords recall with pleasure the great engineering works, such as the dock extensions at Chatham and Portsmouth, now approaching completion, which are due in a very great measure to your direction and supervision, and the Somerset Dock at Malta, and the floating dock at Bermuda, which you planned. These alone would testify to your engineering talent and skill, and the great activity and success with which you have discharged your office.

"My Lords also wish to record their sense of your valuable services as an administrative officer. They refer especially to the sound financial management of

[1] The following fine epitaph was composed by Sir Stafford Northcote, afterwards first Earl of Iddesleigh :—

"Here are gathered together
The Remains of many Brave Soldiers and Sailors,
Who, having once been the foes and afterwards the captives of England,
Now find their rest in her soil,
Remembering no more the animosities or the sorrows of imprisonment.
They were deprived of the consolation of closing their eyes
Among the countrymen they loved,
But they have been laid in an honourable grave
By a nation which knows how to respect valour
And to sympathise with misfortune."

the works which you have undertaken, and to the able conduct of your extensive and scattered staff.

"My Lords beg that you will accept the expression of their entire satisfaction at the manner in which you have fulfilled the numerous duties which have been entrusted to you. "I am, etc.,

"VERNON LUSHINGTON."

From the Rt. Hon. G. J. Goschen.

"ADMIRALTY, 20 *September*, 1873.

"DEAR SIR ANDREW CLARKE,

"I cannot deny myself the pleasure of repeating in writing what I expressed to you when we parted on Thursday, that in losing your services at the Admiralty I feel that we are sustaining a heavy loss, and that personally I shall be most sorry to miss you from amongst us at Whitehall. I have been greatly impressed by your conspicuous devotion to the public service, and by the energy which you throw into everything you undertake.

"I will not repeat what has been stated in our official letter to you as to the sense entertained of your engineering ability, and the great works which have been constructed under your auspices. Let me only say that you have most worthily filled what was a most important post when you first succeeded to it, but which you have rendered still more conspicuous and useful to the State by the way in which you dealt with it. Wishing you every success in your future career,

"I remain, yours very truly,

"GEORGE J. GOSCHEN."

If those under whom Sir Andrew Clarke served were more than satisfied with him, those over whom he was placed were of the same opinion. The staff of the Works Department presented him with a handsome silver-gilt ewer and dish in token of their personal regard and esteem and in appreciation of the uniform kindness and courtesy they had received from him.

Sir Andrew's old friend and correspondent, Mr. Gordon Gairdner, who had retired on a pension and settled at St. Leonards, wrote to Sir Andrew in June:—

From Mr. Gordon Gairdner.

"We were so sorry that we were out when you and Lady Clarke were so kind as to ascend our hill. When you have leisure will you just write me a line, to say when you are likely to leave England? for six years is a long time to look forward to at my time of life, and I should like to see you before you go. . . . They ought to give you more pay to enable you to stand in your proper position amongst the rich Indian merchants."

Before he left England Sir Andrew was able to meet his old friend and say what proved to be a last good-bye, for Mr. Gairdner died before Sir Andrew returned from the East.

This chapter may be fittingly closed by a farewell letter from Mr. Childers:—

From the Rt. Hon. H. C. E. Childers.

"CANTLEY, DONCASTER,
"*17th September*, 1873.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"This will find you all but on the wing. God bless you, old boy! If you have time on your hands as you go out I wish you would write me a memorandum of your views about the West Coast—not so much as to the war, which will, I fear, cost us much life and credit—but as to what should be done when it is over, assuming that we must keep the Dutch settlements, or at any rate not restore them. . . .

"Ever yours,
"HUGH C. E. CHILDERS."

CHAPTER VI

GOVERNOR OF THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

1873–1875

SIR Andrew and Lady Clarke left England on the 20th September, 1873, and, making a tour through Italy, arrived at Brindisi on the 5th October. Here Sir Andrew met with a great disappointment, which forms the topic of the following correspondence:—

To the Rt. Hon. G. J. Goschen.

"ORIENTAL HOTEL, BRINDISI,

"*5th October*, 1873.

"MY DEAR MR. GOSCHEN,

"At the very instant of leaving England your note of the 20th ultimo was put into my hands, and I had proposed writing from my new Eastern home to tell you how gratified I am by it, but I am led to anticipate doing so by my having received a communication on my arrival here, which prompts me to ask you to use your good offices on my behalf.

"The facts are these:—Immediately on my receiving Lord Kimberley's note offering me the Straits, indeed before seeing you on it, having been sent for on other matters by the Duke of Cambridge, I took that occasion of submitting to him the proposal that had been made to me, and asking him if, in the event of my accepting it, H.R.H. would give me the military command of the troops on the station. H.R.H. immediately and without reserve assured me that he would do so, prefacing it by stating that I was a full colonel. He at the same time

alluded to the position he was good enough to say I had taken at home, and advised me to remain where I was.

"You are fully aware how I hesitated before accepting Lord Kimberley's offer, but this promise of H.R.H. had so great an influence with me, as at once restoring me to the active duties of my profession—an event which any brother-officer of my Corps will readily appreciate—that it decided me to go.

"I learn now definitely that though both Lord Kimberley and Mr. Cardwell, with Sir H. Storks, desire that I should unite the civil with the military authority in the Straits, H.R.H. has represented that I am, though thirty years in the service, too low down on the list of colonels, most, if not all, of whom are my juniors in the Army, to hold the command, as it might be regarded as a hardship by them.

"This decision is not only a bitter disappointment, but it relegates me to the Reserved List, and may eventually close my profession to me for ever. . . . It is just possible that H.R.H. might be induced to reconsider my case, and though I feel I am asking much of you, yet I venture to do so, and would urge you to see the Duke for me with this view.

"Ever yours faithfully,

"A. CLARKE."

From the Rt. Hon. G. J. Goschen.

"13 *November*, 1873.

"DEAR COLONEL CLARKE,

"Before receiving your letter of the 5th October from Brindisi, I had happened to be present at the War Office on other business when the difficulty as to your wanting the command of the troops with the governorship turned up. The Duke of Cambridge and Lord Kimberley were present, and I heard the whole discussion, in which I may say there was every possible friendliness towards you.

"Some little time afterwards I received your note and also heard from Childers. We had a discussion together as to what had best be done, and we agreed that Childers should see the Duke first and see how the

land lay, my having been present at the previous discussion making it more desirable that a *new* influence should be set in motion to draw out the Duke's opinion. The Duke would have referred me to the opinions he had formerly expressed, while Childers would treat the matter entirely fresh, as if he knew nothing of the Duke's previously expressed opinions.

"Childers has now seen the Duke. He will no doubt write to you himself as to what passed between them. The upshot of the matter was that the Duke recommended you should do nothing now, but raise the question again in a year or two, and Childers himself thought that this would be the best course. I cannot think that it will be satisfactory to you, but it would probably be of little avail to push the point harder now. If I have an opportunity I will sound again, but without making a special visit to the Duke about it now that I know what he said to Childers.

"I hope that except for this great disappointment you found things to your satisfaction at Singapore.

"The Dover business[1] will, I fear, not be carried out by the Admiralty direct. The clause of the Act which was passed places the work in the hands of the Harbour Board *under* the Admiralty, and as there are great parliamentary difficulties in the way of any other course, I expect that we shall not have the sole responsibility for the work. . . .

"Believe me, yours very truly,
"GEORGE J. GOSCHEN."

Mr. Childers also wrote to Sir Andrew telling him of a long talk he had with the Duke, who admitted having said that he should be glad that Sir Andrew should have the command, but insisted that the real objection was his being so low on the list of colonels. His Royal Highness twice begged Mr. Childers to tell Sir Andrew

[1] The harbour and breakwaters, in which Sir Andrew had been very active. The Corporation of Dover so much appreciated his exertions in this matter that they proposed to confer upon him the freedom of the Cinque Port, but his departure for Singapore prevented him receiving it.

that personally he was anxious to do all he could for him, and said this "*very* graciously."

The new Governor landed at Singapore on the 4th November, and on the same day took the oaths of office. Mr. H. M. Mills was appointed acting Private Secretary, and Lieutenant M. C. Brackenbury, R.E., Aide-de-Camp. The principal members of the Legislative Council were Mr. J. W. Birch, Colonial Secretary, Mr. T. Braddell, Attorney-General, and Major F. J. A. McNair, R.A., Colonial Engineer. The colony of the Straits Settlements at this time included the island of Singapore, Malacca, Penang, Province Wellesley, and Pangkor, or The Dindings, and its Government maintained semi-political and commercial relations with the neighbouring Native States of Perak, Selangor, Pahang, Sungei Ujong, Rembau, etc., all more or less in a state of anarchy. Of more civilised neighbouring Native States there were Johore and the kingdom of Siam, while European countries were represented by the Dutch in Sumatra and the French in Cochin China.

With the Governor-General of the Netherland Indies and the French Governor-General at Saigon Sir Andrew exchanged official courtesies by cable. He also sent a special mission, consisting of Mr. Birch, Major McNair, and Lieutenant Brackenbury, to Bangkok to represent him at the coronation on the 17th November of His Majesty Chulalonkorn, the present King of Siam. Some extracts from a diary kept by Lieutenant Brackenbury give an interesting account of the scene:—

"We were towed to the landing-place of the palace in ship's boats, and there received by Siamese officials in their gala dress. Indeed, they looked very smart in

their single-breasted tunics of Indian cloth of gold, fastened at the waist with a gold belt with a diamond clasp, bright blue sarongs, or kilts, white silk stockings, patent leather shoes, and black felt helmets with gold bands and brass spikes.

"Our guides conducted us into the courtyard of the palace, where we found the Siamese army drawn up to receive us—about 800 men, at open order, armed with the old Brown Bess, dressed in French tunics, blue with red facings, for headdress a shako with a long, light infantry plume of red and orange, short white trousers, and bare feet. As we approached, this copper-coloured army presented arms in a flabby sort of way, the word of command being given in English.

"At the entrance to the coronation-room we found assembled the consuls of the other nations, and the officers of the French gunboat *Antilope*, which had come up from Saigon for the ceremony.

"The Regent shortly after made his appearance and ushered us into the throne-room, a room about eighty feet long, forty feet broad, and, say, twenty feet high, papered with a dusky red paper. Each side of the room was filled by Siamese noblemen, all crouching on the ground, and we stood upright in the centre of the room, the Second King being on our right front and the Regent on our left front. The farther end of the room was shut off by a golden curtain.

"A bell tinkles, the royal trumpeters outside sound a shrill blast, the bands clang out the Siamese Anthem, the gold-embroidered curtain draws apart and reveals His Majesty the King of Siam seated on a throne raised about five feet above the ground. He seems a dapper little man about five feet five inches high, with a copper-coloured complexion, a small black moustache, and teeth coloured black by betel. He is dressed in a lilac coat, richly embroidered with gold, with a sarong of brocade of gold and white silk stockings; a tall pagoda-shaped crown is on his head, and a heavy golden necklace on his shoulders. The Sword-of-State —the *sabre de mon père*—is by his side. His nobles and bodyguard crouch all around him. Three sharp taps, like those given by a bandmaster when he calls his band to attention, are sounded by the Master of the

Ceremonies, and the whole audience falls flat on their faces, saving ourselves."

Some friendly correspondence between the newly crowned King of Siam and the new Governor of the Straits Settlements followed on the return of the mission to Singapore, and in one of his letters the King wrote :—

From H.M. the King of Siam.

"Only by the support of a powerful country can a weak one be rapidly developed, and therefore we beg that Your Excellency, appointed by H.M. Queen Victoria to govern a British colony which is very close to Siam, will suggest and advise us as to whatever is likely rapidly and largely to develop our resources."

Sir Andrew always held that a great opportunity of increasing British influence in Siam was lost at this time by the apathy of the British Government. The King of Siam was most desirous to enter into intimate political relations with Great Britain, but his overtures were ignored, in spite of Sir Andrew's representations, with the consequence that France gained a political position that has proved dangerous to the independence of Siam and inimical to the influence of this country.

Nothing occurred to call Sir Andrew's attention again to Siam until near the close of his rule at Singapore. The main feature of his activities as Governor of the Straits Settlements was neither with the neighbouring kingdom of Siam, nor with the Dutch colony of Sumatra on the other side of the strait, nor even with Singapore and its dependencies, but with those so-called independent Native Malay States lying to the north of Johore, which were always, more or less, in a state of anarchy. The policy he was successful in

carrying out in regard to these States was the great feather in his cap, and perhaps the work with which his name will be most honoured and remembered by future generations. But the subject is one that is better treated separately, and it is so important that it requires a chapter or two to itself; so for the present we turn to the other matters which occupied Sir Andrew during his governorship of the colony.

First among these was the protection of the Chinese and of the coolies. The Chinese were very numerous in Singapore and throughout the peninsula, and Sir Andrew had at his right hand to assist him in looking after them an official designated the Chinese Interpreter to Government, at that time Mr. W. A. Pickering, a very able public servant, well versed in the ways and in the language of the Chinese. The special work of this officer was to enforce the registration of the Chinese secret societies and to keep in touch with the keepers of the kong-see houses in Singapore. Sir Andrew increased his powers and altered his title to "Protector of the Chinese." But while the Governor was prepared to protect the well-behaved Chinese, and even to adopt a tolerant attitude towards their secret societies in Singapore, where they were absolutely under control, he did not scruple to suppress them elsewhere, because he was fully alive to their dangerous character. Writing to the Assistant Resident at Larut in July, 1874, he said:—

To Captain Speedy.

"Put your foot down on the Chinese secret societies. Do not allow them to exist for a second. I would simply prohibit them, making it death to have anything to do with them. A just and intelligent severity at this moment will, in the end, be mercy and true kindness."

On the 1st December, 1873, barely a month after his arrival in the colony, unpleasant news arrived from Colonel (afterwards General Sir) Archibald Anson, Lieutenant-Governor of Penang, who reported that on two or three of the estates in Province Wellesley many of the coolies had been shamefully neglected when sick, and had been sent to the Government hospital only in time to die. On one estate he suspected that coolies were forced into re-engagements and otherwise badly treated. Sir Andrew ordered an inquiry to be held, with the result that the manager of one estate and the agent for some others were brought to trial, convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment. In consequence of revelations made at the trial, which attracted public attention, and were noticed in English newspapers and in Parliament, Government supervision of coolie labour was made stricter, and regulations issued to ensure that the coolies should be better fed and protected. Writing to the Colonial Office in the following April, Sir Andrew was able to say: "I am gradually getting all we want for the Indian coolies without making a fuss about it"; and two months later, after visiting those estates which had attained an unenviable notoriety, he reported officially:—

"I have just returned from a visit to the sugar estates in Province Wellesley, and have examined carefully into the treatment by the planters of their Indian coolies. From all I could gather, any ill usage must have been exceptional, and in all I saw there was every appearance of the coolies being well cared for and contented."

Before Sir Andrew had been many months at Singapore, Mr. Gladstone's Government was replaced by a Conservative Administration, and his friend, Admiral F. Beauchamp Seymour, wrote to tell him the news:—

From Rear-Admiral F. Beauchamp Seymour.

"18*th February*, 1874.

"MY DEAR ANDY,

"Gladstone resigned yesterday, and to-day the Rt. Hon. Benjamin goes to Windsor, so in a week or so we shall all be in the street, proving you a true prophet, for I remember your telling me before you left that by February we should all be out of office.

"It is needless to blink the matter, or to say that I am not sorry to find myself relegated to an idle life, but I have no reason to complain, and I have been very fortunate in having been so continuously employed as I have been since 1853. Of course, I shall do all I possibly can to get the China command. . . .

"I have some sort of idea that there was a split in the Cabinet before the dissolution, caused by Goschen having asked for seven hundred more men in the yards, and money to build five corvettes of the *Modeste* type. They appear to have been anything but a happy family for some months before the break up. There will be the most infernal row about the state we are leaving the Navy in, and I look forward to a Royal Commission—for all the boilers nearly are worn out, and we have no ironclads to send into the First Reserve. . . .

"I wish I could think we were likely to meet in September. "Ever yours sincerely,

"F. BEAUCHAMP SEYMOUR.

"P.S.—If by good luck I have to come out we might make a wholesale sweep of the Malay and Sumatrian 'pilongs.'"

Another friend, Mr. Montagu Corry (afterwards Lord Rowton), also wrote about the change of administration and alluded to an incident at the general election, when Mr. Disraeli referred to the Straits of Malacca in his speech at Aylesbury, suggesting the lines:—

"The farmers of Aylesbury sat down to dine,
They'd plenty of cheer and very good wine;
And after the dinner they took to their bacca,
And the gist of their talk was the Straits of Malacca."

From Mr. Montagu Corry.

"ROWTON CASTLE, SHREWSBURY,
"*8th April*, 1874.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"I well remember our last talk on the subject of the ballot and our prospects—you with your elbows on the iron railing in Rotten Row. What things have happened since then! I shall see my chief again on Monday, but I am sending on your letter to him by this post.

"I conclude (from some inverted commas) that you wrote knowing all the chaff, etc., which in February taught every English coalheaver that your straits existed, and were 'important.' I am glad to find you think the chief was justified in his teaching the latter. If ever you wish anything brought privately to his notice, perhaps writing to me will prove the best means, and I shall at any time be delighted to do anything I can for you in this or any other respect. . . .

"Things privately and socially seem to me much as when you left, and as to public matters, all is so smooth and happy that no one at first sight would dream that such a dire event as a tumble into the ditch had befallen 'the Great Liberal Party.'

"Ever yours,
"MONTAGU CORRY."

The proximity of the theatre of war between the Dutch and the Achinese in Sumatra made the Governor and the people of Singapore take a lively interest in the struggle. At the end of 1873 many Dutch men-of-war and transports passed, carrying reinforcements to Achin, and returned later on laden with sick and wounded. The success of the Dutch expedition was slow. The first victories were succeeded by disasters. The capture of the Kraton,[1] the Achinese stronghold,

[1] The Maharaja of Johore sent word to Sir Andrew of this incident in the following note: "The Achinese having cut a tunnel from one of their earthworks, situated about six or seven hundred yards away from

by the Dutch, was followed by its recapture and the expulsion of the Dutch with heavy loss.

When Sir Andrew's attention was called to the state of affairs in Achin, he became anxious to see the troubles settled in such a manner that the Dutch colony might enjoy peace, without the extermination of a brave and manly race which could alone enable the island to be efficiently developed.

It so happened that an Achinese envoy, who had been sent to Constantinople to enlist the help of the Porte, by name Syed Abdulrahman bin al Zabir, arrived at Singapore, and through the Maharaja of Jöhore asked for an interview with the Governor. Sir Andrew consented to receive him on the distinct understanding that the meeting was purely complimentary, and had no political significance attached to it. At the same time the Consul-General for the Netherlands, Mr. W. H. Read, in a conversation with Sir Andrew, alluded to the arrival of the envoy, and sounded the Governor as to whether British friendly intervention was possible. He led him to think that the Governor-General of the Netherlands and the Civil Government were sick of the war and not over sanguine as to its results, and that its continuance was only due to the Dutch Commander-in-Chief and the military element.

the Kraton, until they approached so near as to be able to hear voices overhead, decided on a certain night to surprise the Dutch. All arrangements having been made, a small hole was pierced at the end of the tunnel sufficiently large to allow a man to ascend, and everything being found quiet, a very short time was sufficient to admit a large number of Achinese within the Kraton. Upon the cry of 'Amok' being raised, they immediately fell upon the Dutch troops, who were so unprepared for such an attack that they had to beat a retreat, and in doing so it is thought lost about 1,000 men. The remainder, some 500, fled to the Campong Maraksa, the inhabitants of which are favourable to the Dutch, leaving everything behind them—ammunition, clothing, stores, guns, etc. The Achinese are now in possession of the Kraton."

Sir Andrew cautiously answered that he could make but one reply, and that was to repeat the words used by Lord Granville in his despatch—that both the Dutch and the Achinese could always rely upon the friendly efforts of Great Britain to promote the restoration of peace and tranquillity.

From an unofficial interview with the envoy, Sir Andrew gathered that the friendly offices of Great Britain as a peacemaker would be welcomed both by the Dutch and the Achinese, and he wrote to Lord Carnarvon towards the end of April, 1874, giving him particulars of these conversations, and of all the information he had received on the subject. Sir Andrew asked that he might be instructed whether he was to remain wholly inactive, or, if pressed either by the envoy or by the Dutch Consul, he should accept any offices whatever in relation to their affairs, subject, of course, to keeping Lord Carnarvon fully informed. Sir Andrew told the Secretary of State for the Colonies 'that his own impression was that the Achinese chiefs would readily accept and abide by any award of Great Britain, even if it involved a surrender of their country to the Dutch, but a very large and influential section was so much opposed to treating directly with the Dutch, that they would prefer death or exile. Sir Andrew feared that without the mediation of some Power the struggle would be long protracted, inflicting very serious injury on our trade, and keeping alive the spirit of Muhammadan fanaticism, as the sympathy of the whole Malay peninsula was with the Achinese.

Lord Carnarvon replied to Sir Andrew that personally he should not be indisposed on the score of humanity and, as he considered it, of true policy in the Eastern seas, to bring about a cessation of hostilities

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and a pacification, but he found that there was a very considerable disinclination on the part of the Foreign Office to take any step or to incur any risk.

One comment, and one alone, shall be made. The war, which Sir Andrew was so anxious to stop, has continued till to-day, and his advice was given thirty years ago. Had it been followed, how much bloodshed and misery might have been avoided!

Lying on the route to China, Singapore is a stopping-place for many travellers, and in 1874 there was a continuous succession of guests at Government House. So large was the number sometimes that the Hôtel de l'Europe had to be requisitioned as an annexe to Government House. There was the French Mission to Peking under the Count de Rochechouart, and the Burmese Embassy to Paris travelling under French auspices, Count Marescalchi, aide-de-camp to Marshal MacMahon and a relative of Earl Granville, having charge of it. Then there was a delightful Dane, General Raastoff, who had been Minister of War at Copenhagen. He was on his way to Peking, and brought letters to Sir Andrew from an old friend, Sir Charles Lennox Wyke, British Minister at the Court of Denmark. He corresponded with Sir Andrew after his arrival at Peking, and confided to him his belief that the downfall of the Manchu dynasty was probable, and that with a new Chinese imperial family the capital would be moved to some place on or near the Yangtse, where the true heart of the country is to be found. Under the gracious hospitality of Lady Clarke, Government House was the social centre of the community of Singapore.

Of the several institutions of Singapore one particularly appealed to Sir Andrew, and that was the

Raffles Institute. When Sir Andrew took over the Government he announced his intention of following in the footsteps of Sir Stamford Raffles, and he was pleased to do anything in his power to promote the success of an institution founded by that distinguished man. Speaking at the annual meeting of the trustees of the Institute in March, 1874, he said:—

"More than half a century has elapsed since Sir Stamford Raffles conceived the idea of establishing an institution in Singapore for the cultivation of the languages of China, Siam, and the Malay Archipelago, and for the improvement of the moral and intellectual condition of the inhabitants of those countries. His idea—which for the grandeur and comprehensiveness of its design has seldom been excelled—Sir Stamford Raffles submitted to a public meeting in the form of a minute which would endure in the literature of these settlements, a lasting memorial of their illustrious founder."

Sir Andrew then mentioned that a scheme would shortly be laid before the Legislative Council to extend the use of the Institute, and to hold out inducements to native princes and rajas to send their sons there for education, while it was contemplated adding to the Institute a public library and a natural history museum, and in course of time to hold classes in literary and scientific subjects. Nine months later he presided for the last time at the Raffles Institute on the occasion of the presentation of prizes to the students, when he dwelt upon the importance of their all learning some trade or handicraft, and said he had a scheme in view for erecting workshops for the purpose. One of his last official acts in Singapore was to lay the foundation-stone of the Institute for Malay Princes.

It was in January, 1875, that Sir Andrew's attention

was again called to Siam by reports of serious trouble in that kingdom. The first intimation was contained in a telegram from Mr. Newman, the British Acting Consul-General at Bangkok, on the 5th, stating that it was expected that the First King would attack the Second King, and asking that a gunboat might be sent to protect British interests. A similar request was sent by the French Consul to Saigon. H.M.S. *Charybdis* was sent off to the Menam River from Singapore, and later accounts revealed that the Second King had taken refuge in the British Consulate.

On the 19th January the Viscount de San Jannuario, Portuguese Governor of Macao, arrived at Singapore from Bangkok, bringing a letter from King Chulalonkorn to Sir Andrew, which expressed anxiety that the Governor should know the real facts and that he should extend his sympathy to the King in his difficult position. Accompanying the letter was a memorandum, signed by the King, in which the details of the dispute with the Second King were set forth. The closing paragraph of the King's letter ran thus:—

From H.M. the King of Siam.

"Another matter—I have been engaged in plans for the reform and improvement of my country, hoping so to gain fame. This is a good object, and there are many other matters proposed for the benefit of the country and trade, which cannot be all completed in the time I have to devote to them. How shall I devise harm to Wangna (the Second King) in this base way and lose my reputation? I am willing to have it settled in any way that will end it properly. I am not desirous to have all my own way."

Sir Andrew telegraphed full particulars to the Colonial Office and asked for instructions, pointing out that if we did not intervene France would. Lord

Carnarvon directed him only to go to Bangkok if he was urgently requested to do so by the Consul.

The situation at Bangkok did not improve. The Second King continued to prefer the security of the British Consulate to the danger of his own palace, and, emboldened by the belief that he was under British protection, he rejected all overtures made by the First King for a settlement, and proposed a counter-arrangement of his own, which contained a clause that the agreement to be made should be signed by the British and French Consuls, an unwarrantable encroachment on the sovereign rights of the supreme King of Siam.

Matters were at a deadlock when Mr. Newman, acting on the provisional authority he had received from Lord Derby, then Foreign Secretary, wrote on the 9th February asking Sir Andrew to come to Bangkok as soon as he conveniently could, because "there is little likelihood of a settlement being effected, and trade and commerce are in a great measure stopped."

But Sir Andrew had just received a telegram from home which very much affected his own future. Lord Salisbury, then Secretary of State for India, had offered him a seat on the Council of the Viceroy of India, as the head of the Public Works Department, and Sir Andrew accepted the offer as a distinguishing mark of approval of his services. Then Lord Salisbury asked him to go to India as soon as possible, and it was proposed that he should hand over the government to Colonel Anson, the Lieutenant-Governor of Penang, until his successor should arrive. However, after some telegraphic correspondence between Sir Andrew and the home authorities, it was finally arranged that he

should remain at Singapore until Major-General Sir William Jervois, who was to succeed him, should arrive in the colony in the following May. So when this was settled he was free to go to Bangkok.[1]

At that moment Admiral Ryder happened to be anchored off Fort Canning at Singapore on his way to take up the command of the China station. He placed his flagship, H.M.S. *Vigilant*, at Sir Andrew's disposal, and consented to associate himself with the Governor's mission to Siam. As he required the *Vigilant* to continue his voyage to China, it was arranged that the Governor should return to Singapore from the Menam in H.M.S. *Charybdis*.

Sir Andrew, accompanied by Major McNair, Lieutenant Brackenbury, and Dr. Randall, arrived in the Menam on the 18th February, and Mr. Newman, the Acting British Consul-General, came on board the *Vigilant* to report that there had been no change in the situation. He was evidently on the side of the Second King, and thought that the Second King should be supported, even though it were prudent to give him a safer place of residence than Bangkok, say in some remote province on the borders of British Burma. It did not seem to have occurred to anyone that the natural and proper solution of the difficulty was to place the authority of the First King, as the supreme ruler, beyond question. The whole atmosphere was impregnated with the belief that King Chulalonkorn was too inexperienced and too feeble in health to carry out any good intentions he might have, and that the Second King was the coming man.

[1] The account of Sir Andrew Clarke's visit to Siam is based upon an article which he contributed to the *Contemporary Review* of February 1902, two months before his death, by the kind permission of the Editor.

It seemed to Sir Andrew that with a little patience, courtesy, and mutual consideration the matter would not be difficult to arrange, and it was quite clear to him that it certainly was not his business to interfere in the dynastic arrangements of Siam. The inferior King had taken refuge under our flag, and it was only incumbent on us to obtain his return to his palace in safety, and without giving the supreme King cause of umbrage. Sir Andrew informed King Chulalonkorn of his arrival by letter, assuring him that he had given his affairs earnest consideration, and was authorised by the Queen of England to place his good offices at the King's disposal.

An audience with the First King was arranged for the 20th, and before it took place Sir Andrew received from the King the following reply to his letter :—

From H.M. the King of Siam.

"THE PALACE, BANGKOK,
"*20th February*, 1875.

"SIR,—Yesterday, to prevent delay, I requested my Foreign Minister to give an immediate answer to the letters I had the pleasure of receiving from Your Excellency.

"I now have the pleasure of congratulating Your Excellency on your arrival in Siam. I trust that this visit will lead to a lifelong friendship between Your Excellency and myself.

"I thank Your Excellency for the trouble you have taken in procuring black swans for me. You will be pleased to learn that I have already entered into correspondence with the Acclimatisation Society of Queensland.

"I have also to thank you for your offer of the services of Dr. Randall. I am happy to say that my health, since I have been under the care of my own physician, Dr. Gowan, has been very much better than

formerly, but I shall be delighted to receive a visit from Dr. Randall at such time as he may fix with my private secretary. "I am, etc.,

"CHULALONKORN R."

At the first audience with the King, which lasted three hours, His Majesty was induced to see that he should himself state the terms he was willing to accord to the Second King, and assert his independence of the Senabodee (Council). The First King displayed a conciliatory disposition toward his royal cousin, the Second King, but contended that a guard of 400 men was too large for his retinue, and that one of 200 men would suffice. Eventually His Majesty said he would be grateful to Sir Andrew if he would draft terms for a reconciliation.

On the evening of the 20th, the ex-Regent, Prince Suriwongse, dined on board the *Vigilant*. He had played a considerable part in the politics and intrigues of his country, and, despite his seventy years, liked to exercise power. He had done much to foment distrust between the two kings, and thought only of advancing his own and his family's interest. Sir Andrew read him a lecture on sowing dissension in the Royal Family, and endeavoured to impress upon him the duty of thinking of his country before everything. His grandson Nai To, who had been for a time at Woolwich in the Royal Artillery, interpreted, and the old man, pointing up dramatically to the Union Jack, asked, "Does that flag ever lie?" Whether Sir Andrew's lecture impressed him or no, he certainly became less obstructive, and his support of the Second King sensibly declined.

The next step was to communicate with the Second King, who had sent Sir Andrew a letter of welcome,

but whom the Governor had purposely avoided meeting until he had seen the supreme King. On Sir Andrew's invitation the Second King sent a statement of his case, and at the same time asked that an interview should be arranged between him and the Senabodee on board the *Vigilant*. In his letter he observed: "Some foolish men, wishing to change the customs and usages of the country, had turned the First King against him." Sir Andrew gathered that he was for old Siam and opposed to innovation, and that, probably, the efforts the First King—a young, intelligent, and well-meaning prince—was making to change and reform these same old customs and usages had more to do with the quarrel than the question of the Second King's guard and revenues.

Sir Andrew agreed to the interview demanded by the Second King, provided the First King approved. He then got all the foreign consuls together, and told them how he proposed to effect a prompt reconciliation between the two kings, a consummation so desirable in the interests of the commerce of all countries. He was gratified to find that his solution of the question was unanimously and warmly approved by all of them.

Having secured the support of the consuls, Sir Andrew wrote to the First King, mentioning the request for an interview made by the Second King, and adding that he and Admiral Ryder had made themselves thoroughly acquainted with the questions at issue between the two kings. Sir Andrew submitted a draft decree which they recommended King Chulalonkorn to sign, as it embodied, in their opinion, all that was needed to enable them to advise the return of the Second King to his palace, and, at the same time,

placed beyond doubt or cavil His Majesty's authority over the armed forces of the kingdom, and assured to His Majesty the exclusive right of controlling and regulating its finances.

By the decree the Second King was to have the right to maintain an armed force not exceeding 200 men, but limited to his residence, wherever it might be, and the authority of the First King over all the forces and ships of the kingdom, as well as over the finances, was fully set forth. The First King sent an immediate reply, thanking Sir Andrew and the Admiral for the draft, and asking them to visit him again. He suggested that the Second King's visit to the *Vigilant* should be postponed, and, as a matter of fact, it became unnecessary.

Sir Andrew and the Admiral went at once to the King, who invited them and an American missionary, Mr. Chandler, whose services as interpreter were most useful through all the interviews, to go upstairs with him. After a long discussion, in which the King showed marked intelligence, the draft decree was accepted as it stood, and a Commission[1] appointed on

[1] The Commission was composed of the King's uncle, Prince Bamrap, the ex-Regent Suriwongse, and the members of the Senabodee. An incident may be mentioned in connection with Prince Bamrap. This prince had taken observations of the transit of Venus in the previous December, and gave the record of them to Sir Andrew. He forwarded them to Sir George Airy, the Astronomer Royal, thinking he would be interested to hear of the pursuit of astronomical science in Siam. Sir George Airy does not seem to have been much impressed, however, with the accuracy of the record, to judge from his reply:—

"ROYAL OBSERVATORY, GREENWICH,

"29 *April*, 1875.

"MY DEAR SIR ANDREW,

"I have received and am much interested in the original record which you have sent of the observations of the transit of Venus by the Prince, the uncle of the King of Siam.

"As an astronomer, I would point out two circumstances that require

his behalf to sign the arrangement with the Second King. The warrant to the Commissioners concluded with the following declaration :—

"I beg you, who sign these Articles of Reconciliation, to have full faith in me that I will assuredly devise no mischief whatever to Krom Phra Rachawang [the Second King], which would be unjust, and I will keep to these Articles in every respect."

These preliminaries were arranged on the 22nd February, and the next two days were devoted to sight-seeing. Among other things, after taking luncheon with the ex-Regent, Sir Andrew and his party were taken to see the cremation of Prince Suriwongse's daughter-in-law. She had died two months before, but in Siam the dead body goes through a drying process before it is cremated on the funeral pyre.

On the evening of the 24th the Governor and the Admiral dined at the British Consulate and met the Second King. After dinner the proclamation or decree was discussed. The Second King, finding that he could not get anything better, and that the hospitality of the British Consulate could not be extended to him indefinitely, after a good deal of quibbling, gave his

explanation. One is that though in the diagram both phases are pictured as of external contact, the first is described in the legend as 'internal contact, probably a merely clerical error. The other is that the source of time determination is not given.

"I can quite understand the taste for astronomy which you ascribe to the upper classes of the Siamese. I look upon the oriental mind as essentially acute, and in speculative matters highly refined; and I think if we could send them a few of our hard-headed Cambridge mathematicians to pin them in some measure to the severities of the science, we should produce an incomparable race of astronomers.

"Yours very faithfully,
"G. B. AIRY."

assent. The same night the First King wrote to Sir Andrew :—

From H.M. the King of Siam.

"ROYAL PALACE, BANGKOK,
"*24 February*, 1875.

"MY GOOD FRIEND,

"My private secretary has reported his conversation with Your Excellency. I am glad to agree that my cousin shall return to his palace quietly in the early morning, and come to me at eleven o'clock, when, as I must meet the wishes of my own people, I think it better that only Siamese should be present at our reconciliation. "Your faithful friend,

"CHULALONKORN R."

The reconciliation passed off exceedingly well in the presence of the leading nobles of Siam, and its terms were faithfully observed on both sides. In the afternoon royal carriages conveyed Sir Andrew and his party to the palace, where they were to be the guests of the King for a day and a night. Everything was comfortably arranged—ten bedrooms, two ante-rooms, a suite of drawing-rooms furnished in yellow satin, a dining-room, and even a billiard-room was fitted up in an adjoining building. The King gave a state dinner in the evening, and conversed freely and well.

After everybody had retired to their own apartments, the King went round at midnight to Sir Andrew's room and poured into his ear his hopes and fears for his country, declaring that he wished to leave "a freed people on a freed soil," and expressing his earnest desire that he might always count on the friendly advice and protection of the British Government.

Writing to Lady Clarke from Bangkok, Sir Andrew said:—

To Lady Clarke.

"The King is really sharp and clever, and I believe means well. McNair has been of great use, and of course Brackenbury is invaluable. The Consul, Newman, is a very nice fellow, and I like him much. The Siamese are a very gentle race, and with good temper, a little patience and tact one could do anything with them."

On the 4th March Sir Andrew was back in Singapore, and sent the following telegram to the Colonial Office:—

To the Colonial Office.

"Arrived to-day from Siam, having effected reconciliation between the kings. Second King has left our Consulate with his former privileges guaranteed by decree of First King and Senabodee. Public confidence seems restored."

This visit to Siam was the beginning of a personal friendship between Sir Andrew and the King, which lasted throughout Sir Andrew's life. The King frequently consulted him as one on whose judgment he could depend, not only while Sir Andrew was in India, but after his return to this country.

A few weeks after the visit Sir Andrew received the following letter from His Majesty:—

From H.M. the King of Siam.

"ROYAL PALACE, BANGKOK,

"28 *March*, 1875.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I am very sorry you are going away from Singapore, for I should like to have an English friend near to me. We have been very quiet since you left. . . . The United States Consul has asked to have a

collection for the exhibition in America sent separately, but that will not in any way reduce the collection I have commanded to be sent to you for exhibition in Australia.

"Can you obtain for me the services of an officer of Royal Engineers to train the engineers of my guard and any other engineer corps I may form, and to assist with his advice in other engineering matters? . . . I am thinking of forming a Geological Department, also one or two farms and plantations for acclimatisation, and for the training of planters and gardeners.

"I learn that the collection of clay figures has not yet been sent. The books are nearly ready. Two or three of the officers whose duty it is to attend to these matters have been, and are, unwell, which will account for the delay.

"I was sorry that as Governor of Singapore you only permitted me to give you so trifling a souvenir of your visit to Bangkok. On your resignation of your governorship my Consul will hand you a small casket,[1] which I wish you to accept as more fit to show your friends, both as an example of gold work done in my palace, and a souvenir of

"Your very good friend,

"CHULALONKORN R."

[1] This casket for betel nut was made of fine gold and ornamented with precious stones. In further token of King Chulalonkorn's regard and esteem for Sir Andrew, he sent him some of the ashes of his queen, who died a few months before. The Second King presented Sir Andrew with a cigarette-case and Lady Clarke with a Siamese lady's toilet-set, of Siamese workmanship, as a memento of the Siam visit. Sir Andrew sent His Majesty Chulalonkorn portraits of Lady Clarke and himself in return.

CHAPTER VII

GOVERNOR OF THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

1873–1875

THE MALAY NATIVE STATES

WHEN Sir Andrew Clarke arrived in Singapore the position of affairs in the Malay Native States, and especially in Perak, had been for a long time very unsatisfactory. The Malay chiefs, who lived at ease upon their rents and taxes, did nothing to keep order in the country or to give good government to the people. The Chinese, who were most numerous in the mining district of Larut in the State of Perak, were divided into two hostile factions—the See Kwans and the Go Kwans. They were always fighting one another, either for the possession of claims in the valuable tin mines, or to gratify the private feuds of Malay chiefs, who sided sometimes with one faction and sometimes with the other. Mercenary "braves" were brought from China by the headmen of the secret societies, and were paid by the miners to fight their battles for them, while they themselves remained at work in the mines.

The Chinese "braves" fought at sea as well as on land. They were the pirates of the coast, and even interrupted communication between Singapore and

Penang. The lawless ruffians were not too careful in their dealings with the Malays, and when a trader fell in their way they made short work of his goods, and if he resisted, cut his throat. They even showed fight to the boats of British men-of-war, which were unable to follow them where they ran for shelter, up the shallow creeks and mangrove swamps that line the coast.[1] The feuds extended to Penang itself, where the secret societies took up arms and had even threatened the authority of the Government by attacking a police-station in Province Wellesley.

In Perak a war of succession was going on between two rival claimants for the Sultanate. In Selangor civil war raged and piracy flourished on its coast. Near Malacca a feud was being fought out between the States of Sungei Ujong and Rembau. In the River Linggi embargoes were laid on trading boats navigating the river, and along 500 miles of coast the pirates suspended the sugar industry and the fisheries. Anarchy, in fact, reigned supreme.

The instructions given to Sir Andrew by Lord Kimberley aimed at ameliorating this deplorable condition of the Native States by a more permanent and continuous process than the spasmodic despatch of an expedition to chastise the offenders. The Secretary of State for the Colonies deserved credit for taking a wider view than had hitherto prevailed at the Colonial Office. He suggested a new departure, which was a real step forward, and Sir Andrew, in consequence, found himself more favourably placed for dealing with the Native States than any of his predecessors. Lord Kimberley's

[1] A month after his arrival Sir Andrew pressed upon the Colonial Office the need of light-draught steam-launches to cope with the pirate boats.

instructions on this subject contained the following cautious yet pregnant passages:—

From Lord Kimberley.

"It is an important part of the duties of the Governor of the Straits Settlements to conduct the relations between the British Government and the States of the Malay peninsula which are not tributary to Siam. . . .

"The anarchy which prevails and appears to be increasing in parts of the peninsula, and the consequent injury to trade and British interests generally, render it necessary to consider seriously whether any step can be taken to improve this condition. . . .

"H.M. Government have, it need hardly be said, no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the Malay States. But looking to the long and intimate connection between them and the British Government, and to the well-being of the British settlements themselves, H.M. Government find it incumbent upon them to employ such influence as they possess with the native princes to rescue, if possible, those fertile and productive countries from the ruin which must befall them if the present disorders continue unchecked.

"I have to request that you will carefully ascertain, as far as you are able, the actual condition of affairs in each State, and that you will report to me whether there are, in your opinion, any steps which can properly be taken by the Colonial Government to promote the restoration of peace and order, and to secure protection to trade and commerce with the native territories. I should wish you especially to consider whether it would be advisable to appoint a British officer to reside in any of the States. Such an appointment could, of course, only be made with the full consent of the Native Government, and the expenses connected with it would have to be defrayed by the Government of the Straits Settlements."

On taking up his post Sir Andrew lost no time in letting it be known that he attached paramount importance to this question of the Native States, and that his

policy would be to continue the work of Sir Stamford Raffles. He turned his attention first to Perak (pronounced Pera).

PERAK

Here three troublesome problems seemed to admit of no delay in their solution: (1) the Chinese faction fighting and piracy; (2) the disputed succession to the Sultanate of Perak; and (3) the status of one of the Perak chiefs, the Mantri of Larut, who claimed to be independent of the Sultan. There were in addition some old standing disputes as to certain boundaries between Perak and the British territories of Province Wellesley and the Dindings, which it was desirable to settle at the same time.

The Chinese faction fighting and piracy have already been referred to, but the disputed succession to the Sultanate and the Mantri's claim of independence require a few words of explanation.

The dispute as to the succession to the Sultanate had arisen in this way: When Sultan Ali died in 1871, his astute old Minister, the Raja Bandahara Ismail, assumed the government, and was acknowledged as *de facto* Sultan by the Lieutenant-Governor of Penang. Subsequent information showed that not only had the Raja Muda (Prince Royal) Abdulla been set aside, but Ismail had never been invested with the regalia, although it was in his possession. The rival claimants were fighting in 1873, and it was doubtful which would prove the stronger. Suspicions as to the capabilities of Abdulla had been rife among his people, and it was uncertain whether, if he gained the day, he would be recognised by the chiefs whose duty it would be to install a new Sultan.

The Mantri of Larut, Ngah Ibrahim, claimed his independence on the ground that he had been granted by the late Sultan in 1862 full powers to govern the district of Larut with the advice of the Laksamana. Raja Muda Abdulla, on the other hand, claimed that the special powers granted to the Mantri were merely delegated powers, which lapsed on the late Sultan's death.[1]

Sir Andrew Clarke had good reason to believe that the Chinese were getting sick of the constant faction fighting, which was not only ruining the country of Perak, but also impoverishing themselves. He, therefore, took the first step in his Native States policy by sending the Official Chinese Interpreter to Government, Mr. Pickering, to open negotiations with the headmen of the Chinese factions in Perak, but with instructions to do so as if acting on his own authority, and not as delegated by the Governor.

Mr. Pickering was not only a fluent speaker of Chinese, but he was a man of both energy and tact. He left Singapore for Perak in the steamer *Johore*, and at once set to work to find out whether the chiefs of the two parties could not be brought to settle their differences. His mission proved most successful. He gained the confidences of the headmen, and on the 4th January, 1874, was able to telegraph to Sir Andrew that the chief headmen of both factions had agreed to submit their claims to the arbitration of the Governor, and to enter into an undertaking to surrender their rowboats, to dismantle their stockades, and to give up their arms.

[1] This grant of special powers to the Mantri was made in consideration of his having paid a fine for the Sultan, which had been demanded by the British Governor as compensation to one of the Chinese factions for losses inflicted by another faction with which the Mantri had sided.

In the meantime Sir Andrew had discussed the Perak succession question with Mr. W. H. Read,[1] an old resident in the colony, and a Member of Council, to whom the Raja Muda Abdulla was personally known. Through Mr. Read's instrumentality Sir Andrew, in due course, received a letter from Abdulla, properly signed and "chopped,"[2] in which he made the following report:—

From Raja Muda Abdulla.

"We and our great men request the Governor, who is now arbitrator and mediator, to aid us by inquiring into these disturbances with authority, so that they shall cease, and be settled properly and with justice. And if all these dissensions are brought to an end and set right, and the country is restored to peace, we and our great men desire to settle under the sheltering protection of the English flag.

"Further, we and our great men wish to make a new treaty of lasting friendship with the English Government, which will benefit both sides. And we, together with our great men, to show our good faith, ask of our friend, Sir Andrew Clarke, for a man of sufficient abilities to live with us in Perak, or at any fit place not far from us, and show us a good system of government for our dominions, so that our country may be opened up and bring profit, and increase the revenues as well as peace and justice. . . ."

Having received Mr. Pickering's telegram and Abdulla's letter, Sir Andrew decided that he would himself go to Perak, and endeavour personally to settle, there and then, with the Perak chiefs all the questions at issue. He fixed the 14th January for the conference, and he selected Pulo Pangkor, at the

[1] Mr. W. H. Read was also Consul-General for the Netherlands. He had been in the colony since 1841. He wrote *Play and Politics, Recollections of Malaya*, by An Old Resident, published in 1902.

[2] "Chopped," *i.e.* sealed. The Chop is the official seal.

Dindings, as the rendezvous. Anticipating that there might be some difficulty in collecting the chiefs, he sent Major McNair and Captain Dunlop (Inspector of Police) to Penang with letters to all the principal chiefs, and he directed Mr. Pickering to assemble the Chinese headmen.

Accompanied by Lady Clarke and a large suite, which included Mr. Braddell (the Attorney-General), Mr. A. M. Skinner (a Member of Council), and Lieutenant Brackenbury, Sir Andrew left Singapore on board the *Pluto* on the 11th January, and arrived at the Dindings on the 13th. The *Johore* brought the Raja Muda Abdulla, two other members of the Royal Family, the Mantri, the Laksamana, and other chiefs to Pangkor on the 15th. They had come with the greatest readiness to meet the Governor. On the following day Sir Andrew received Abdulla, and was agreeably surprised to find that he was a man of considerable intelligence. He looked well in health, alert, more than ordinarily sharp for a Malay prince, and was frank and ready in his replies to the Governor's questions. He was quite confident of his ability to maintain his position if he were once placed in Perak as its legitimate ruler. All the chiefs, save the Mantri of Larut and his party, expressed their willingness to support him.

It was made quite clear to Sir Andrew that the Mantri had no claim to be an independent ruler, but, was simply the Governor of the territory or district of Larut, and, on his own admission, owed allegiance to the Sultan; while the special powers conferred on him in 1862 were, as Abdulla maintained, delegated powers which ceased when Sultan Ali died. Sir Andrew found that Abdulla, if he were confirmed and acknowledged as Sultan, was quite ready to ratify Ibrahim's

appointment as Mantri of Larut, on the understanding that he was in no sense independent but was merely the representative of the Sultan.

The Bandahara Ismail, the rival claimant for the Sultanate of Perak, did not put in an appearance at the conference of the chiefs with Sir Andrew. At successive meetings Sir Andrew discussed with them all the matters in dispute, and arrived at an amicable settlement. A final meeting was held on the 20th January, at which all the principal chiefs except Ismail were present, and Sir Andrew drew up a draft treaty, or engagement, as it was officially termed, the text of which, as the most important result of Sir Andrew's efforts to introduce peace and progress into the Native States, is given in the Appendix.

Undoubtedly the most important clause of this engagement was that providing for a British representative as Resident at the Sultan's Court at Perak, with another British officer as Assistant-Resident at Larut, the expense being a first charge on the revenues of Perak, because it was to the advice and guidance of these officers that Sir Andrew looked for the gradual regeneration of the State.

The engagement was duly signed and "chopped" on board the *Pluto*, and a salute of eleven guns was fired in honour of the recognition of Abdulla as Sultan of Perak. It was proposed that the coronation should take place at Bandar Bharu in the presence of the Governor in the following month, and that the Sultan should send to Ismail in the meantime for the regalia. On the 21st January Sir Andrew steamed up the river in the *Pluto* to Bandar Bharu, where salutes were fired and the Sultan Abdulla received by his people apparently with every demonstration of satisfaction.

Immediately after the engagement was signed Sir Andrew wrote the following letter to the Bandahara Ismail:—

To the Bandahara Ismail.

"We write to inform our friend Raja Ismail that the regalia, now in our friend's hands at Sungei Kinta, should be surrendered to Raja Abdulla, who was appointed Raja Muda in the late Sultan Ali's reign; for on this day, the 20th January, the great men of Perak have assembled at Pulo Pangkor, and Raja Abdulla has become Sultan of Perak and its dependencies, and a definite agreement has been made by them with our approval. Our friend will therefore do well to follow our advice in this matter, and surrender the regalia at the approaching festival, the 27th January.

"On the 7th January we sent a letter to our friend, notifying that the affairs of Perak were about to be settled, but our friend did not appear. Now in Article II. of that agreement the following arrangement was made regarding the title, etc., to be enjoyed by our friend: 'That the Raja Bandahara Ismail, now acting Sultan, be allowed to retain the title of Sultan Muda, with a pension, and a certain small territory assigned to him.'"

Although the old Bandahara eventually gave in his adherence to the terms of the Pangkor Treaty, he had not given up the regalia when Sir Andrew quitted the Straits. But this did not affect the practical working of the treaty, of which the most important feature was the introduction of the Resident system.

Sir Andrew held a long conference with the Chinese headmen on both sides. They prayed that the British Government would take over the country, or at least appoint a British officer to reside in the district and protect them. They exhibited the utmost readiness to accept the decision of the Governor, and their faith in Sir Andrew was fully demonstrated by their subsequent conduct. On the very day the Pangkor Treaty or

Engagement was signed both factions of the Chinese surrendered a large quantity of arms, a number of rowboats, and many junks, together with twenty-seven guns, one of which was a Krupp, and Sir Andrew sent H.M.S. *Avon* and the *Johore* with Captain Dunlop and Mr. Skinner to search the rivers for more. The leading Chinese, many of them men of large property in Penang, entered into a bond to keep the peace with each other and with the Malays, to disarm their followers, and to destroy the stockades, under a penalty of 50,000 dollars, and this engagement was signed by the headmen on the same day as the treaty.

But Sir Andrew found that the claims of the rival factions in the tin mines were too complicated to settle off-hand, and that women and children had been taken captive and detained in slavery. He therefore appointed a Commission[1] to settle these mining claims, to enforce the surrender of arms and boats, to destroy all stockades, and to endeavour to discover and to restore to their own people the captured women and children.

By the tact and activity of the Commissioners their work was satisfactorily completed without resort to force, and in spite of obstruction on the part of the Mantri. The tranquillity of the mining district was secured by laying down a line dividing the localities and claims of the rival factions. At the end of a month Mr. Swettenham was able to conclude his journal with the following observations:—

"The country, as we came down this morning, looked very different to what it was a month ago. Everyone is as quiet as possible, some are respectful,

[1] The Commission consisted of Captain S. Dunlop, R.A., Mr. Pickering, and Mr. F. A. Swettenham, now Sir F. A. Swettenham, K.C.M.G., lately Governor of the Straits Settlements.

and a few even polite. There are no signs of stockades or arms, and Chinese, Malays, and Klings are walking all over the country."

Sir Andrew was delighted, and telegraphed to the Colonial Office:—

"Commissioners returned from Perak, having rescued fifty-three women, disarmed belligerents, razed all stockades, and settled mines. Immigration and capital setting in."

On his return to Singapore after making the Pangkor Engagement he wrote to Mr. Childers:—

To the Rt. Hon. H. C. E. Childers.

"I have nominated Captain Speedy Acting Resident of Larut. In doing this I went, no doubt, beyond my instructions, but all I had done would have come to nothing had I not left someone in the country to see the engagement carried out and a proper police organised. I feel I have done a good stroke; in short, all the people here say that nothing has been done so complete and equal to it since Raffles's time. . . .

"The Colonial Office may say that I might have submitted my scheme to them for their approval before putting it into force, but the only chance of success I had was to do what I did rapidly, so that not a soul knew my plans until I had almost pulled them through. The Chinese were moving and had no idea who was moving them. I had got hold of the heads of both parties, and neither knew that I knew the other.

"I sent a steamer for the Malay chiefs telling them to come to see me at the Dindings, giving them no time to hesitate, nor telling them what I wanted them for, nor affording them time to send for their lawyers—nearly all Malay chiefs have Penang or Singapore lawyers retained by them. I was assured I could not get them together under six weeks or two months. I collected them in a week, and they were without their lawyers. One alone, the Mantri of Larut, had one; but as none of the others had, I would not assent to his putting in an appearance."

The engagement made by Sir Andrew at Pangkor was greatly appreciated at Singapore. Mr. Birch, the Colonial Secretary, declared it to be "the very best stroke of policy that has occurred since the British flag was seen in the Archipelago." The Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution expressing its entire approval of the measure, and trusted His Excellency would continue to pursue the just, firm, and conciliatory policy then inaugurated until all the independent Malay States were brought under similar control.

In concluding the Pangkor Engagement and appointing even temporary Residents to the Native States, Sir Andrew had gone beyond his instructions. In his despatch of the 20th September, 1873, already quoted, Lord Kimberley had indicated the direction in which Sir Andrew might move to remedy the intolerable state of affairs in these States, but this was no warrant for taking decisive action without reference home. Sir Andrew's letter to Mr. Childers shows that he was fully aware of this; but the favourable opportunity had offered, and he was not the man to let it pass unutilised on account of the letter of his instructions. He was quite ready to take the full responsibility of exceeding these instructions, provided he was clear, as he was in this case, that he was acting in their spirit and was carrying out their policy with the greatest advantage to the interests committed to his charge.

By the time the despatches reporting his action reached London, Lord Kimberley was no longer Colonial Secretary, but in a letter he wrote to Sir Andrew in April, 1874, he said :—

From the Earl of Kimberley.

"With regard to Perak, not having seen your despatches I am not in a position to form an opinion

on the details of your arrangements, but, as far as I was able to judge from your telegraphic despatches which I received before I left office, I anticipated that I should have approved generally the course you had taken."

SELANGOR

Having made a successful start with the affairs of Perak, Sir Andrew next turned his attention to the large Malay State of Selangor, lying south of Perak. Civil war and piracy made some sort of intervention imperative, and a particularly atrocious act of piracy committed on a trading boat from Malacca in November, 1873, at the mouth of the Jugra River, afforded sufficient pretext for interference. One survivor from the massacre, a British subject, escaped, and was able to identify some of the pirates, who were arrested and taken to Penang for trial. Following this incident an attack had been made on the lighthouse at Cape Rachado, so Sir Andrew decided to take prompt measures. Taking advantage of the presence of the Admiral commanding on the China station with his squadron, he consulted with Sir Charles Shadwell, and organised a demonstration which might enable him to carry out his policy in Selangor.

He arranged to take the pirates then in custody at Penang with him to Selangor, and insist that the ruler of the State should accept the responsibility of their acts and punish them himself if, after a fair trial, they were found guilty. He hoped thus to bring home to the natives that piracy would meet with punishment from their own ruler, with an effect that no sentence of a British court, executed on the evil-doers out of sight of their fellow-countrymen at Penang by British authority, could possibly have.

The following letter, dated 11th February, 1874, to Mr. Childers, describes what took place:—

To the Rt. Hon. H. C. E. Childers.

"I write a few lines to tell you that I am returning to Singapore, having laid, as I trust, the foundation of a speedy return of peace and prosperity in this portion of the Malay peninsula. The piratical outrages had culminated in an attack on the lighthouse at Cape Rachado, and communication with the lightship at the North Sands having been threatened, I took occasion of Sir C. Shadwell being in the Straits with his fleet to ask him to make an earnest effort to co-operate with me in putting a stop to what was going on, sketching out my policy, and giving him a suggestive plan of operations.

"I left Singapore last Wednesday, ostensibly on a visit to Malacca, but had arranged that on the following day the Admiral, being then with his fleet at Penang, should come south and meet me at One-Fathom Bank with all his force. This was done, and blockading the entrances of three separate rivers with H.M.S. *Thalia*, *Rinaldo*, and *Avon*, and leaving the *Iron Duke* (the flagship) at Kualla Klang, we steamed up the Langat River with the *Frolic* and *Midge* and a small colonial gunboat called the *Matta Matta*, and reached the stockaded town of Langat, the residence of the Sultan of Selangor and the pirates' head-quarters.

"I dropped the men-of-war a little down the river and out of sight of the forts of Langat, and I then steamed up and laid the *Pluto* close alongside the principal fort, and went with all my party to breakfast on deck, where we could look up the muzzles of some big guns which were within a few feet of us. The fort itself, both inside and outside, was covered with some hundreds of very villainous-looking Malays armed to the teeth.

"After breakfast I sent a letter to the Sultan telling him what I had come about, and asking him to come off and see me. Up to this not a soul had come near us. I sent the letter by Major McNair, my Surveyor-General, and he was received respectfully by the chiefs, but their followers looked alarmed and savage. He

was taken to the palace and saw the Sultan, who said he had never left his country and could not break through etiquette and come on board to me. After some three hours' waiting, he said he would come down and look at me and the steamer from the shore. This he did, but someone telling him the day was unlucky, he quickly disappeared.

"Braddell, my Attorney-General, then landed alone, smoking a cigar, as if for a stroll, lounged through the bazaar and town, passed the sentries, and stepped quietly into the Sultan's palace. Braddell speaks Malay better than a Malay, and knows their customs. It ended in his getting at the Sultan, who at last consented to come on board, provided the steamer was attached to the shore by ropes, and that he might walk on board over a temporary jetty which was improvised on the spot, and on board he came with several hundred fellows. He is a jolly, good-natured opium-eater, but looked on piracy, as he said, as a young man's affair, and did not bother himself about it.

"This went off well enough, and the Admiral and I then landed and went to the palace. After the complimentary interview in public I told him I wanted to see him alone with only a few of his great men. Of course to this there was much objection, but I stuck to the point, and at last he assented. I was taken with the Admiral, the Attorney-General, Surveyor-General, and aide-de-camp into a small place where the Sultan was with his three sons and some eight or ten chiefs.

"I opened on the subject of my mission, told him how much better for him, his family and country, it would be if he would support his son-in-law, the Viceroy, against the pirates, and that I wanted to settle matters peacefully, without asking the Admiral to step in, who had the power to sweep him and all the pirates off the face of the country. After a couple of days, passed in negotiations, he assented to everything, swore to keep his treaty engagements, issued an order to try all offenders, and engaged to burn and destroy his strongholds.

"As I am leaving the gunboat here to see that he carries out his promises, including the hanging of some sixteen men caught in one of their boats with the

plunder of a trading boat from Malacca, whose crew had been murdered, I have every hope of the success of my scheme, which is to compel the Native Government to punish crime, instead of leaving us to do so, as formerly. . . .

"I fear that the Colonial Office will not easily be made to think that I have done well, but I know I have, and time will show it."

The diaries of Lieutenant Brackenbury and Mr. Braddell give a full account of all these proceedings, and the following extracts supplement Sir Andrew's account in the above letter:—

"*8th February.*— . . . The Sultan has hitherto borne the reputation of being a confirmed opium-eater, but he did not strike our party as being in any way lethargic. On the contrary, he seems very sharp and intelligent enough, only showing a certain weakness of character by an indecisive manner of walking up and down when he is required to make up his mind and fidgeting with his headdress, which he constantly takes off and puts on again. In appearance he is a man of some fifty years, with a quantity of iron-grey hair and plaintive brown eyes, with which he gazes at one appealingly when any decisive action is required of him. His attire was extremely light—a reddish sarong, a queer silk baju, which he slips from his shoulders as soon as he can get rid of it, a yellow silk sash, and a brown handkerchief round his head. In the evening at about 8.30 the Queen of Selangor sent off a basket of fruit, twelve slabs of tin, and three tin circular boxes as a present to Lady Clarke.

"*9th February.*—At 7.30 a.m. the Queen sent off another present to Lady Clarke, a few vases and everlastings, neatly arranged on a silver plate covered with a leaf, and wrapped up in a handkerchief. . . ."

Alluding to the audience in the Sultan's palace, Lieutenant Brackenbury continues his account:—

"McNair came out and told us to go off and bring Tunku Kudin from the *Midge*. Now Kudin was the

Sultan's son-in-law, and a very good fellow to boot, and had been high in the Sultan's favour until one fine day he had gone off to the wars in Ulang, and while he was away the rascally sons of the Sultan had doubtless been backbiting, and so for a couple of years he had not ventured to come up to Langat, which originally had been given to him to rule over. I was much taken with him after my first introduction. Captain Grant told me that the Tunku had been far from easy in his mind all the morning, and he saw that there was something in the wind at once on seeing us. 'Tunku,' said Captain Grant, 'the Governor wants you to come off and see him and the Sultan.' 'Where, on board his ship or on shore?' 'On shore,' said Captain Grant. 'Very well,' said friend Tunku, after a moment's hesitation, 'then let me take the revolver.' However, Grant did the *Civis Romanus sum* business, and assured him that he would take him off and bring him back again in safety."

Mr. Braddell takes up the narrative :—

"When Tunku Kudin reached the audience-room the Sultan beckoned him and took him behind the curtains where the ladies were, and in a little time they both returned looking quite pleased. Soon after this the audience ended, and Sir Andrew invited Tunku Kudin to accompany him on board the *Pluto*, as he wished to make his acquaintance. The Tunku, it appeared, was a brother of the Raja of Kedah, and in 1868 the Sultan of Selangor gave him his daughter in marriage, and made him Governor of Langat. . . . He made a great reputation by overthrowing all the rebels against the Sultan, and at the same time incurred the jealous hatred of that potentate's sons, his own brothers-in-law. In his interview Tunku displayed much intelligence, and made an excellent impression on the Europeans."

Tunku Kudin was shortly afterwards nominated by the Sultan President of a Court, summoned in accordance with the custom of the State, for the trial of the captured pirates. The men were convicted, sentenced

to death, and executed at Kualla Permona, or "the place of execution at the river's mouth," in the presence of Major McNair and Mr. Davidson. The kris, or sword, used on this occasion by the executioner was presented to Sir Andrew Clarke by the Sultan of Selangor, with the assurance that he would discountenance piracy, and take the strongest measures against those who practised it.

Sir Andrew appointed Mr. Davidson to advise the Sultan of Selangor, and later he sent Mr. Swettenham to him, with very happy results. In August, 1874, Sir Andrew received a letter from the Sultan, in which that chief said:—

From the Sultan of Selangor.

"We are very much obliged to our friend for the officer whom our friend has chosen. He is very clever. He is also very clever in the customs of Malay government, and he is very clever in gaining the hearts of the rajas and sons of rajas with soft words, delicate and sweet, so that all men rejoice in him as the perfume of an opened flower."

The sincerity of the Sultan's thanks was proved by his sending a thousand dollars and voluntarily offering to send the same amount every month to pay the expenses of the Resident.

Sir Andrew had scored another success, and the British colony warmly approved his action. He seems to have carried the community with him from the first, and his relations with his Legislative Council were most harmonious. On the 14th January Mr. (afterwards Sir) Robert G. W. Herbert, of the Colonial Office, wrote to him: "I am glad to hear from all quarters (including unofficial) expressions of great satisfaction with what your people have seen

of you," and Sir Andrew's spirited action at Pangkor and Langat increased this feeling. The Penang Chamber of Commerce wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, giving expression to their "profound satisfaction" with the political settlements made by their Governor with these Native States, and hoping, as the Singapore Chamber had done, that he would be encouraged to similar vigorous action in regard to the other Native States.

No one was more ready to appreciate the services of the Navy than Sir Andrew, and he represented in the warmest terms to the Secretary of State for the Colonies the assistance he had received from Sir Charles Shadwell in the Selangor business. In due course Lord Carnarvon acknowledged this service, and Sir Andrew communicated the acknowledgment to the Admiral, who in reply wrote:—

From Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Shadwell.

"'MODESTE,' AT SHANGHAI,
"*4th November*, 1874.

". . . I beg to express my cordial thanks to you for the gratifying terms in which you have conveyed to me the approval of the Secretary of State, and for the words you have added on your own behalf. I shall have much pleasure in communicating to Captain Woollcombe and to Commanders Grant and Powlett the approval of the Secretary of State, and in acquainting them with the handsome manner in which you have also expressed your personal recognition of their services.

"I have likewise to thank you for having already made these communications to the ships present in the Straits of Malacca, viz. *Charybdis* and *Hart*.

"I remain, etc.,
"CHARLES F. A. SHADWELL."

On the 6th March, 1874, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Carnarvon, wrote his first brief

official despatch to the Governor of the Straits Settlements, in which he gave a qualified approval of Sir Andrew Clarke's proceedings. On the 19th May, Lord Stanley of Alderley moved a resolution in the House of Lords condemning the policy pursued at the Straits Settlements. Lord Carnarvon defended himself and the Governor, saying that "Sir Andrew Clarke had shown remarkable energy, ability, and discretion, so far as he was able to consider all that had been done." He went on to endorse the policy of appointing Residents to the Native States, and thought that if they confined themselves to their proper and legitimate duties they would be of the highest value to the country and to the rajas. Lord Kimberley, the late Colonial Minister, spoke in the same sense, and the motion was negatived. Ten days later Lord Carnarvon wrote officially to the Governor: "I will not delay the assurance that H.M. Government appreciate the ability and energy which you have shown in dealing with affairs so complicated and difficult."

At the same time Lord Carnarvon wrote semi-officially to assure him of the interest with which he watched Sir Andrew's action in the peninsula. He told him he was not disposed to quarrel with an extension of English influence rightly and easily developed, but he added the caution that we were entering upon new ground and relations of a somewhat delicate nature in our dealings with the Native States, and that though British Residents are an undoubted benefit to a State, yet through them we become much more closely connected than heretofore with things and persons and political combinations, that may easily lead us further than we intend to go. He impressed on Sir Andrew that this new phase of colonial policy needed careful

watching by those on the spot, and would be easily jeopardised by precipitancy or immature ambition, and therefore much depended upon the personal character and ability of the Resident in each place. His anxiety, he said, was that a policy so well begun should be continued on the same lines.

Sir Andrew was in complete accord with the views expressed by Lord Carnarvon. The extension of British influence, he thought, should be very gradual, free from sensational development, inexpensive, and peaceful. No doubt some of his subordinates favoured stronger and more energetic measures, and were impatient at the slow development which was the Governor's policy, but Sir Andrew kept a tight control, and watched everything that went on in the Native States with a vigilant eye.

CHAPTER VIII

GOVERNOR OF THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

1873–1875

THE MALAY NATIVE STATES

HAVING dealt with the two large Native States bordering on the Straits of Malacca—Perak and Selangor—Sir Andrew turned his attention to two small States also bordering on the Straits, which lie to the north of the Linggi River, between Selangor and Malacca, and are known as Sungei Ujong and Rembau. He induced the Klana or Chief Ruler of Sungei Ujong to enter into an agreement in April, 1874, by which he bound himself to carry on his government with justice, to offer protection to traders, to prevent fighting, and to place the river, from Sempang as far as Permâtung Pasir, under the control of the British Government, and on the other hand he was to be assisted by the British Government to defend his country.

The Chief of the other State, Rembau, who was known as the Dato Perba of Rembau, was frequently at war with the Klana of Sungei Ujong, contending for supremacy on the Linggi River. He had erected stockades on its banks, and one of them at Bukit Tiga was reported to be very strong. Outrages had been

frequent, and a recent attack on a police-boat offered Sir Andrew a favourable opportunity to take action.

Requesting the Klana of Sungei Ujong and the Dato Perba of Rembau to meet him at the mouth of the Linggi River, Sir Andrew left Singapore on the 30th April in H.M.S. *Charybdis*, Captain T. E. Smith, to keep the appointment. He was accompanied by Mr. Braddell and Lieutenant Brackenbury, and was joined at the Linggi River by Captain Shaw, the Lieutenant-Governor of Malacca, and by H.M.S. *Avon*. The Klana was there, and agreed to accompany the expedition up the river, but the Dato Perba did not put in an appearance.

On the 4th May, a flotilla of boats pulled up the stream to Bukit Tiga, where a formidable stockade was found, which had only been abandoned that morning. Sir Andrew ordered it to be destroyed, as well as another stockade which commanded the navigable channel, and when this was done the force withdrew, and Sir Andrew returned to Singapore. Thither, some months later, came the Dato Perba of his own accord, and saw Sir Andrew. He told the Governor that he wanted his country opened up, but did not wish the Klana to interfere with him. He promised to promote trade, and draw up a reasonable scale of custom duties. He complained that the Bandar of Linggi refused to recognise his authority, but only that of the Klana. Sir Andrew assured him that if he made a treaty with the British Government no one would interfere with him, and the Dato Perba promised to conclude one.

Both these States made arrangements by which they undertook to keep peace and encourage trade, but the Bandar of Linggi, one of the most influential chiefs of the Klana, openly expressed his disapproval of the

engagements entered into, and threatened to attack the Klana if he attempted to fulfil them. In September, 1874, the Klana represented the state of affairs to Sir Andrew, and begged the assistance of H.M. Government. In the following month Sir Andrew sent Mr. Pickering from Malacca with a body of sixty native police, to see that the treaty provisions were carried out, and he entrusted him with a letter to Che Kari, the Bandar of Linggi, impressing upon that chief the necessity of submitting with a good grace to the new arrangement and living peaceably with his overlord.

The Bandar was an old intriguer, and had been mixed up with many Malay troubles; and Raja Mahmoud, who led his fighting men, was a notorious pirate, and, as Mr. Birch said, "the most thorough-going old scoundrel in the peninsula." Mr. Pickering found the Bandar in a truculent mood. He declared he was as good as the Klana, that he had never asked the Governor's assistance, was very comfortable as he was, and his country was in no trouble. Unexpectedly meeting Mr. Swettenham, who had come across from Selangor, he insolently exclaimed, "What! another European! You travel about my country as if it were your own." He refused to have anything to do with the arrangement or treaty, and retired to Kapâyang. Mr. Pickering went backwards and forwards several times between the Bandar and Sir Andrew, who with much patience vainly endeavoured to persuade the Bandar by letter to be more reasonable. But the Bandar had got together a considerable force under Mahmoud, and meant fighting.

Unfortunately, the Klana showed himself to be a poltroon, while his Malay followers were arrant cow-

ards. The Bandar captured the Klana's stronghold of Rassa, and the Klana's men began to desert him. Mr. Pickering was left with his small force of native police in a somewhat precarious situation. He wrote to Malacca for some European troops, because, as he said in his letter to the Lieutenant-Governor :—

"The Klana's men have given up every place, and have run away with their arms. Mahmoud is within two miles of this, and by all accounts intends attacking to-night. The Tunku Klana is a cur, but we don't like to leave him. We will do our best and wait for your help. We are surrounded here, and only ourselves and the Arabs will do anything."

Mr. Pickering's letter of the 19th November reached Malacca on the 21st. Only thirty men of the 10th Foot were available, and these Captain Shaw, the Lieutenant-Governor, sent off under Lieutenants H. W. Palmer and G. B. Paton with a small police force in addition. He also sent an express to Singapore with the news. Sir Andrew received the message on the evening of the 23rd, and at once arranged with Colonel J. P. H. Crowe, V.C., commanding the garrison, for twenty men R.A. and a seven-pounder gun, under Captain W. J. Tatham, Royal Artillery, and fifty men of the 10th Foot, under Lieutenants H. C. Huntley and R. G. Warton, to embark with their officers in H.M.S. *Charybdis*, while fifty native police and an inspector went in the tug *Pilot Fish*, with jungle equipment. Sir Andrew himself, with Lieutenant Brackenbury, accompanied the troops, who were landed at Lukut on the 26th, and, reinforced by forty blue-jackets and twenty marines, with their officers, from H.M.S. *Charybdis*, the combined force under Captain S. Dunlop, R.A., marched the next morning for Am-

pungun, the Klana's residence. The following letter from Sir Andrew to Lady Clarke from Lukut, on the 27th, carries on the story :—

To Lady Clarke.

"'CHARYBDIS,' OFF LUKUT RIVER,
"*27th November*, 1874.

"Had a letter this morning at five o'clock from Captain Shaw, sending on one from Mr. Pickering, dated 23rd November, from Sungei Ujong, saying he was safe; had had some hard fighting, in which he had got by far the best of it, and had killed a good many of the enemy. Pickering still thought English troops were needed, so last night some thirty of the 10th would have got to him, and Dunlop, with Tatham and 150 more men, will reach him to-night, and I trust the day after to-morrow to hear that the affair is all over.

"We got to Malacca on Wednesday at noon, and sailed the same afternoon for this place. After putting the troops and stores on shore, and arranging for their marching off this morning, I started to Langat in the *Hart* to visit the Sultan of Selangor, and see if Swettenham was safe; went up the Jugra River in the *Matta Matta*, and got there by five in the afternoon, having captured on the river Mahmoud's father. We saw the Sultan and Swettenham, had a very satisfactory interview with them, and arranged with them to send off people to watch certain places by which the enemy might escape.

"Got back to *Charybdis* at three this morning, having had a hard but very satisfactory day of it. I thought we need not go on, and I think Brackenbury is much disappointed, but he is invaluable. Get Braddell to show you Pickering's letter. He is a rare good fellow and made of real stuff."

A further letter from Mr. Pickering to Sir Andrew, dated 26th November, removed all cause for anxiety :—

From Mr. W. A. Pickering.

"After having been deserted by all the Malays, and being surrounded and threatened by Che Kari, the

Bandar, and Mahmoud, thanks to Providence and the bravery of Sergeant Kiernan and the Arabs, we managed to turn the tables on them before assistance arrived, and to create in the minds of both Malays and Chinese a wholesome fear of the British Government.

"Kapâyang is now the only place left, but I don't want to attack it till well prepared, and rockets would be very useful. The present force of Europeans is sufficient for all that remains to be done, but I should feel much obliged if they could receive orders to assist the Klana, and to remain until the country is disarmed and peace made sure in Sungei Ujong.

"I beg to forward my journal to date. I have sent it with all its imperfections, as I have not time to correct them, but I trust Your Excellency will excuse it."

Mr. Pickering's journal records that after he had sent to Malacca for assistance he captured, with the help of Sergeant Kiernan and the Arabs, a stockade held by the Bandar near the Klana's position. This success somewhat restored the confidence of the Klana's followers, who began to rally to him again. On the 23rd November Mr. Pickering attacked and recaptured Rassa, which was strongly stockaded and defended by Malays armed with rifles and two guns. He and Sergeant Kiernan led the way in. The handful of British troops under Lieutenant Palmer from Malacca arrived on the 25th, and the main body from Singapore under Captain Dunlop on the 28th, when Kapâyang was attacked and evacuated by the enemy. Only one European—a bluejacket—was killed. The Bandar and Mahmoud fled into the jungle. The fort was burned to the ground, and a proclamation issued by the Klana that the Bandar was deprived of all authority, and that anyone siding with him would be treated as a rebel.

In spite of every effort the Bandar and Mahmoud could not be caught. Sir Andrew wrote to Captain

Dunlop: "Do not venture too far into the jungle after the runaways, as it is not worth the risk of a torn pair of breeches"; and on the 2nd December he recalled the expedition.

At the end of the month the Bandar and Mahmoud both gave themselves up and were sent to Singapore. The sale of the Bandar's tin-plates, which he had attempted to carry off, realised sufficient money to pay the cost of the expedition.

Sir Andrew was so pleased with the gallantry and devotion displayed by Mr. Pickering that he recommended him for the Victoria Cross, but nothing came of the recommendation, as the gallant service of the Protector of the Chinese did not come within the four corners of the statutes of the Order.

JOHORE AND PAHANG

The State of Johore lies at the back of Singapore on the northern side of the narrow strait that separates it from Singapore Island. Its ruler was an enlightened prince to whom Sir Andrew and Lady Clarke paid a visit in March, 1874, when the basis was laid of a friendship that lasted until the death of the Maharaja.

Pahang, the largest of the Native States, borders on the China Sea to the north of Johore, from which it is separated by the Endau River. The relations between the two States had frequently caused anxiety to the Government of the Straits Settlements, because, in the event of disputes, it was bound by treaty to intervene.

When, therefore, the Maharaja of Johore informed Sir Andrew on the 28th of August, 1874, that one Inche Jawa, one of his headmen on the River Endau,

with another man had been murdered by Pahangs, and that he was apprehensive of a recurrence of the old hostile feeling between the two States, Sir Andrew lost no time in taking action.

He obtained the co-operation of the senior naval officer and, on the 17th September, left Singapore in H.M.S. *Charybdis*, accompanied by H.M.S. *Hart* and *Avon*, the Maharaja's gunboat *Puler* and his steam-launch. He had with him Messrs. Braddell and Read, and hoped that a personal interview with the Bandahara of Pahang, with whom he had most friendly relations, would enable him to set matters right. Arriving at the Endau River on the 19th, he sent Mr. Read in the *Pluto* to Pekan, the capital of Pahang, situated some way up the Pahang River, to invite the Bandahara to an interview on board the *Charybdis*, at the mouth of the river. The Bandahara expressed his regret that his health would not permit him to leave Pekan, and Sir Andrew, waiving etiquette, left the man-of-war on the 21st and, steaming up the Pahang River for three hours in a launch, reached Pekan. He was met at the landing-place by the Bandahara, who conducted him with every mark of respect to the hall of audience.

About 250 Pahangs were present, and after a few preliminary observations the Bandahara took the Governor into an inner chamber, where his wives and children were assembled, and only his leading chiefs were admitted. After some discussion the Bandahara agreed to appoint three Commissioners to make a searching inquiry, and desired that Mr. Read should accompany them to the scene of the murder.

On taking leave Captain Smith, R.N., invited the Bandahara on board the *Charybdis*, and his confidence

was sufficiently restored the next day to permit him to go on board with the three Commissioners. When he had taken leave and returned to Pekan, these Commissioners and Mr. Read went in the *Pluto* to make their investigation and the Governor returned to Singapore.

A stockade was discovered up the Endau River near the dwelling of the Pahang headman who was suspected of the murder. This stockade was destroyed, the two guns found in it confiscated, and the Pahang headman made a prisoner. A little farther up the river the jungle had been cleared for another stockade, but no signs were discovered of any attempt to take possession of the Johore bank of the river. The Governor came to the conclusion that there was no evidence to show that the Pahang Government was in any way implicated in the murder, which seemed to be a private act of vendetta.

With his usual tact Sir Andrew wrote to the Bandahara suggesting that after he had seen Mr. Read and the Commissioners, and had made himself fully acquainted with their views, he should himself communicate the result to the Maharaja of Johore. He wished to establish friendly intercourse between the two princes, believing that many of the difficulties that had arisen in late years were due to want of such kindly relations. His efforts were successful, and he was able to inform the Colonial Office in October that there were fair grounds for hoping that his visit to Pahang would gradually lead to the establishment of an *entente cordiale* between the two rulers. He was also gratified to learn that the Bandahara, in writing to his principal Chinese agent in Singapore, had alluded to the Governor's visit to him and, acting on Sir Andrew's

advice, wished to encourage immigration by giving foreigners favourable terms for settlement in Pahang, and assuring them of every protection for their lives and property.

Immediately after the Pangkor Engagement had been signed in January, 1874, Sir Andrew appointed Captain Speedy to be Assistant Resident for the Larut district, but he made no appointment to the higher post of Resident for Perak. Mr. J. W. Birch, the Colonial Secretary, was anxious to have this billet, and in February he sent an application for it to the Governor in which he said :—

From Mr. J. W. Birch.

"I believe I can really be of use. My whole life has been spent in opening up new country and in improving and enriching a country, and in teaching the native chiefs good government."

But Sir Andrew was not going to be hurried in so important a matter, and until his actions had been officially approved he only appointed such officers as were absolutely necessary to prevent his work being undone. He gave Mr. Birch, however, a commission to visit some of the Native States in a semi-official character and report to him about them. In the course of this tour Mr. Birch had several interviews with the ex-Sultan Ismail at Blanja, and at length extracted from him a promise to give up the regalia to Sultan Abdulla if the latter would go to him to receive it. Abdulla seems to have found this condition rather equivocal, for he showed no great anxiety to become the possessor of the insignia on the terms mentioned.

In August, 1874, the formal assent of the Crown to the Pangkor Engagement reached Singapore, and Sir

Andrew issued a proclamation[1] to the Malay chiefs "to make known to them the good wishes of the great Queen of England." In his desire to impress the chiefs with the greatness of his sovereign he used the style "Empress of India" in this proclamation, anticipating by eighteen months its proposal by Mr. Disraeli and its adoption by Parliament.

In the month of September, 1874, there were disturbances in Perak, and reports, vague and untrustworthy, were rife as to meetings of chiefs for the restoration of Ismail; but early in October precise news reached Singapore that one Mat Saman was levying blackmail at Salama, in the north of Perak. Sir Andrew sent Mr. Birch to inquire into the matter, and ascertain what could be done, and, at the same time telegraphed to Colonel Anson "to get additional police and a dozen good soldiers equipped for jungle work."

From Salama Mr. Birch wrote to Sir Andrew on the 10th October that he and his party had got up the Salama River with some difficulty, owing to its swift current, and to the snags and rafts of timber that they had encountered. On the way they had been nearly ambushed by Mat Saman and his men, who were armed with rifles, but a party of police sent to intercept Mat Saman captured sixteen of his followers. "There is no fear now," Mr. Birch said, "of a row," and four days later he wrote to Sir Andrew :—

From Mr. J. W. Birch.

"We have worked our way with all our men to the source of the Krian and Salama rivers, which both

[1] See Appendix.

come through a curious gorge in the mountains. . . . Speedy joined me last night with fifty men. He heard as he came along that Mat Saman had run away. He is now a fugitive. He nearly ran down on our encampment two nights ago, but he got warning just in time. He is being hunted by about 200 of the Che Karim's men. . . .

"Everything is quiet, and we have shown them this time that we do not mean to be played with. The sixteen prisoners we took Speedy will march away to-morrow to Larut, where he will keep them for a few days, and then bail them out never to return. We met a big wha-wha last evening with a young one—a beauty—in her arms, which we are rearing by hand. We have no casualties and no sickness, lots of rain, and very cool at night."

Mr. Birch's mission had been successful, and Sir Andrew felt himself justified in appointing him to be the first British Resident at Perak, Captain Speedy retaining the post of Assistant Resident at Larut. A letter from Sir Andrew to Mr. Birch shows with what care and personal attention the Governor watched the working of the new system :—

To Mr. J. W. Birch.

"SINGAPORE, 16 *November*, 1874.

"MY DEAR BIRCH,

". . . I must now content myself with saying that so far you seem to have done right well. I hope before you have got to Ismail you will have seen Yaha. Keep him with you, and make much of him, but be sure of him.

"Do not bother about the regalia, or any ceremony of making Abdulla sultan, and above all things I hope you will not forget to show every gentleness and deference to Ismail. Do not hurry him to any settlement of his own affairs, or to giving up anything. Interest him in inducing him to live where Abdulla will live, with a separate house, grounds, etc., and with all

the honours of a sultan. Interest him in planting sugar, tobacco, etc. Swettenham has in this direction managed his old Sultan very well. The sooner you can get people to look at the land in Perak the better. . . .

"You will have to watch the Mantri with all your eyes, and urge Speedy to do the same. Speedy will still believe in him. . . . What is still more difficult for the Mantri to accept is that he could not have been in the position he is had we not interfered . . . and so in the same language you must gently but firmly tell Abdulla that I could never have given him any permission about the Krian or its revenues. I might have told him, and you can repeat it, that if he accepts in its entirety our advice, and by it rules his country justly, and keeps the peace to all and with all, what may be lost to him in the Krian will be more than made up elsewhere. I should make him, I mean *induce* him, to go with you everywhere. Tell him the Sultan of Selangor is doing it with Swettenham; that his doing so will make him stronger in his country, etc. In short, organise a regular 'progress' with him, you, of course, taking care to be A1 and the prominent figure.

"Yours,

"A. C.

"P.S.—Why not make Abdulla his own Commissioner to settle boundaries with you?"

Sir Andrew had not spared himself in the initiation of his new policy in the Native States, and by the summer of 1874 the strain and anxiety had begun to tell on his health. News of this found its way to the Colonial Office, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) Robert Herbert sent him a caution in August:—

From Mr. R. G. W. Herbert.

"I hear you are overworking yourself, and I suspect there is truth in it. Now that you have done so much that needed to be done, remember that your first duty to the Crown is to take care of yourself."

At the end of the year Mr. Herbert wrote even more strongly :—

From the same.

"Many people tell me you are doing a great deal too much work, and will knock yourself up. You ought to receive a despatch severely censuring you, if such is the case. You should get away for a spell occasionally. I shall recommend a very liberal arrangement, and you will not find Lord Carnarvon unreasonable."

But, as already mentioned, not long after the beginning of 1875 Sir Andrew was appointed a member of the Council of the Viceroy of India, and his connection with the Colonial Office was soon to cease. After his return to Singapore from the visit to Siam in March, 1875, already described in chapter vi., Sir Andrew arranged before quitting the government of the Straits Settlements to pay a farewell visit to Penang, and get the Sultan and chiefs of Perak to meet him there. His time was getting short, and the visit had to be a more hurried one than he had intended. It was paid at the end of April, but Abdulla made an excuse, and did not come. He was, in truth, afraid to meet the Governor, as he had been doing several things of which Sir Andrew disapproved. After the Governor's visit was over, however, Abdulla sent the Laksamana, Raja Dris, with another chief, as a deputation to Singapore. Sir Andrew received the deputation just before the arrival of the new Governor, and listened to Abdulla's excuses and grievances. He had drafted a reply to the deputation when Sir William Jervois arrived, two days earlier than he was expected. Sir Andrew ceased to be Governor, and the matter was taken out of his hands.

During the eighteen months Sir Andrew held the government of the Straits Settlements, his attention

had been engrossed with the pacification of the Native States and the initiation and development of the Resident system. It is for this policy that his short government is remembered in the East, and that he is honoured with a place next to Sir Stamford Raffles in public estimation, as the author of progress in the Malay peninsula. The wonderful development that began in 1874, and has continued since his policy was adopted, is shown in the revenue statistics. In 1874 the revenue of the two Native States, Perak and Selangor, was 100,000 dollars, which went into the pockets of the Malay chiefs for their own selfish indulgence. In 1900 the revenue of these two States had risen to 13,500,000 dollars, and paid for an administration which promoted the peace and prosperity of the country.

Sir Frederick Weld, when Governor of the Straits Settlements in 1891, wrote to Sir Andrew: "I wish you would come here and pay me a visit to see the results of the seed you sowed"; and another Governor, Sir Clementi Smith, speaking in London in 1902, at the first "Straits" dinner after Sir Andrew's death, said: "In the history of the Straits Settlements the name of Sir Andrew Clarke would always be writ large." Major McNair, to whom frequent reference has been made in these pages, in his book entitled *Perak and the Malays*, published in 1878, attributes Sir Andrew's influence with the native chiefs to his personal sympathy. "He was possessed," he says, "of a wonderful faculty of dealing with natives, whom he won to his side by his frankness and openness of manner, through which though there always shone firmness of character, mingled with a high sense of justice, and that which is due from man to man."

As the date for the departure of Sir Andrew and Lady Clarke from Singapore drew near, expressions of regret were heard on all sides. Mr. Birch wrote from Perak to Mr. Braddell: "I do so deplore losing the Chief, I could cry over it; he has so gained my affection and gratitude, as well as respect and esteem." Mr. Swettenham wrote from Langat to Sir Andrew: "I think few people will be more sorry to lose Your Excellency than I, probably because few have received so much kindness as I have. No one can favour your policy more than I do, and I feel sure it will succeed." Such was the general feeling, addresses flowed in from various bodies, but only one need be alluded to, as it was particularly pleasing to Sir Andrew. It was from "the Chinese of Singapore, Penang, Malacca, and the newly opened States," and was presented by some leading Chinese merchants of Singapore, headed by Ho Ah Kay, better known as the Hon. Mr. Whampoa, a member of the Legislative Council, and Mr. Kim Ching, a Justice of the Peace. The following is an extract from this address:—

"Since Your Excellency took up your duties here, you have truly exhibited your talents and powers of governing by the manner in which you have established new laws, reviewed and settled old cases, cherished the people as if they were your own children, and restored peace and prosperity in the neighbouring States. By the exercise of these talents the whole state of the colony has been transformed, and we all are saturated with the benefits springing from Your Excellency's virtues. . . . The news of Your Excellency's departure fills the whole of the Chinese population, great merchants and small traders, with sorrow mingled with joy. . . . We feel glad because Your Excellency is going away to receive high promotion in rank and increase of emolument, but we are all grieved that you cannot remain in office here. . . . We would also

reverently express our appreciation of the liberality, sympathy, and love shown to us by Your Excellency's Lady; the Chinese have in great numbers continually been invited to Government House, and Lady Clarke has not only never placed any obstacle in our way, but, on the contrary, has always received us most cordially, and treated us with the greatest ceremonial politeness; truly we feel this great goodness, and now wish to express our gratitude for the great favours we have received, by affixing our names to this farewell eulogy and address, and we all pray that increase of happiness and longevity may attend you both."

Before their departure Sir Andrew and Lady Clarke were entertained at a ball and supper given in the Town Hall. At the supper their toasts were proposed by the Hon. Thomas Scott, member of the Legislative Council, who expressed the general satisfaction of the community with Sir Andrew's administration, and their regret at his departure, and he paid a graceful tribute to Lady Clarke's many quiet and unobtrusive acts of kindness, her sympathising friendship, and the grace and tact with which she had presided over the hospitalities of Government House, lending herself to no party and no clique, but treating all with equal courtesy and kindness, so that they all felt in losing Lady Clarke they were losing, not so much the Governor's wife, as a personal friend.

Sir Andrew and Lady Clarke left Singapore for Calcutta on the 26th May, 1875, on board the P. and O. steamer *China*, amid the cheers and good wishes of the whole community.

Before leaving altogether the subject of Sir Andrew's connection with the Straits Settlements and the Malay States, a few words must be said about the events which occurred towards the end of the year 1875, only

six months after he had taken up his appointment in India. The murder of Mr. Birch and the war that followed caused a sharp controversy as to the respective policies of Sir Andrew Clarke and his successor, Sir William Jervois. Both Governors were very able men, and did their duty to the best of their judgment. But their policies were essentially different and may be briefly stated as follows:—

Sir Andrew's policy was very gradually to prepare the Malay States for coming into the British Empire by giving them British advisers, under the name of Residents, who should guide the chiefs, but not dictate to them, and while pointing out their duty and endeavouring to get them to perform it, should interfere as little as possible with their authority.

In Sir Andrew's instructions to Mr. Birch he said:—

To Mr. J. W. Birch.

"Limit all your efforts to the sea-coast and navigable waters, never mind the regalia, now and then have Ismail quietly told that he was losing money by holding back, but do not bother about the upper rivers where there are only Malays. Have patience with them. Debt-slavery is a bad thing, but until we are prepared to compensate in full and to show a better system to secure credit, let it for the present alone."

Again in writing to Mr. Childers in October, 1875, Sir Andrew said:—

To the Rt. Hon. H. C. E. Childers.

"I hear the new policy is to annex. This is foolish. The Resident system is far better; till each State pays we must be patient, and not hasten too much the ideas of how things should be done. Let us know the country well, and having established our police posts, our advance, when we make it, will be easy. If you annex you must be prepared to spend money and lose many lives."

On the other hand, Sir William Jervois on visiting Perak in September, 1875, formed a very low opinion of the Malay chiefs. He considered them an illiterate, opium-smoking, indolent, self-indulgent lot. He found debt-slavery and other evils rampant, and he came to the conclusion that while the British Government had in every respect fulfilled their part of the compact under the Pangkor Engagement of 1874, and had incurred considerable pecuniary liabilities in so doing, the Perak chiefs had not met their treaty obligations. His policy was to hasten the development of the Native States by making them protected States, or, as he himself put it:—

"My proposal, therefore, is to govern the country in the name of the Sultan by means of officers to be styled Queen's Commissioners and Assistant Queen's Commissioners. I consider it very desirable that the change of policy from one of mere advice to one of control should be marked by a change in the titles of the British officers."

We have here a policy absolutely distinct from, and opposed to, that of Sir Andrew Clarke, and the controversy centred on the question whether the evils that existed in the Malay Native States could be patiently endured long enough to allow Sir Andrew Clarke's policy to succeed, and these Native States to be gradually absorbed into the Empire under their own governments; or whether it was necessary to start the drastic and coercive policy of Sir William Jervois. As the sequel showed and as Sir Andrew maintained, to attempt to hasten annexation meant not only the expenditure of much money, but the loss of many valuable lives.

In consequence of Sir William Jervois's new policy, the Malay chiefs were required to enter into agree-

ments to accept his proposals; this they did, and on the 15th October a proclamation was issued by the Governor's command establishing the new order of things in the Malay States. To Mr. Birch was entrusted the duty of distributing copies of it in Perak, and while engaged on this service he was murdered by a Malay. The news reached Sir Andrew Clarke on the 7th November, when he was travelling on a tour of inspection in the Punjab. Four days later Colonel F. S. Roberts, Quartermaster-General in India (now Field-Marshal Earl Roberts), wrote from Umballa to Sir Andrew:—

From Colonel F. S. Roberts.

"Before this reaches you, you will no doubt have heard of the disturbances in Perak. A telegram has come from the Government of India saying that our troops have sustained a serious reverse, and that reinforcements will probably have to be sent from India. Lord Napier has recommended a British regiment, a regiment of Goorkhas, and a mountain battery being despatched. We are all somewhat in the dark regarding that part of the world, and Lord Napier has desired me to write and tell you what has occurred, and ask you for any suggestions you can make as to the equipment of the troops, means of transport, etc., in fact for information on any points you may think useful. His Excellency will be greatly obliged if you can spare time to do this."

A letter dated 12th November, 1875, from his old munshi, Muhammad Syed, gave Sir Andrew a graphic account of the tragic incidents at Perak. This hitherto unpublished letter runs as follows:—

From Muhammad Syed, Munshi.

"I beg to inform you that on the 2nd instant Mr. Birch went to Upper Perak with his interpreter and a

few sepoys and peons together with the Captain of H.M.S. *Fly* and six English guards. After he placards the proclamation of the 15th instant he came to a village called Pasir Sala. There he ordered his men to cook their rice, and he ordered the munshi or interpreter to placard the proclamation, and he went to a bath-shed, which are floated along the villages, each one or two. He gets into one of these, about fifteen or twenty miles from the British Residence, and from the mouth of the river to the British Residence is about forty or fifty miles.

"Now when the munshi posted the proclamation a Malay came and tear it. He informed this to Mr. Birch, who said, 'Go and put another so.' The munshi put it again, and the Malay again tear it, and said, 'I have told you not to put the proclamation here, for we are not Sultan Abdulla's men. We belong to Sultan Ismail.' When he put another proclamation to the post the Malay stab him in the right cheek round to the ear, and the munshi ran from him and said, 'I am a servant, I do as my masters told me.' The Malay ran after him and stabbed him again. He cried for help and jumped into the river. Two sepoys came and took him into a boat. There he died.

"At the time that the munshi got the first stab, a few Malays got into Mr. Birch's boat and took away all his arms, and then a few of them, well armed, waited at the door of his bath. When Mr. Birch heard the munshi cry for help (about fifty yards on the bank) he hastened himself to come out and opened the door. When he came out the Malays chopped him with their knives. They cut him in pieces and began to fire on all British subjects; one sepoy was killed, two of the H.M.S. *Fly's* men, one peon, and three Malays missing, about eight wounded, one boatman had a ball in his cheek. All this occurred at five p.m., and they ran down to the British Residency the same evening.

"The Penang Lieutenant-Governor sent up a few guards on the *Pluto*, and Captain Innes as an Acting Commissioner. After consulting on the 6th instant he went with two hundred peons, sepoys, Malays, and others to attack them. Before they arrived at the spot the Malays had already come below this village and

hid in the bushes. When the Malays saw a new English coming with his troops they first fired with their lilas (blunderbusses). I am very sorry to inform you that poor Captain Innes was struck on the right breast and fell dead. The disturbance went on and, on our side, all returned to the Residency. Altogether there were fifteen dead, including Mr. Birch, twenty-five seriously wounded, and ten slightly wounded. The Lieutenant-Governor arrived in Perak at eight p.m. on the 8th, anchoring above Bata Rabit. Sultan Abdulla, Laksamana, and Dato Bandar came to see His Excellency on board steamer.

"On the 2nd day of November, Mr. Swettenham was nearly killed at Blanja. Fortunately he took the wicked Raja Mahmoud from Singapore by *Pluto* when he left on the 23rd October. This wicked Mahmoud saved his life, for the Blanja men knew Raja Mahmoud, so they dared not to do harm to the young officer. His Excellency the Governor blockades the River Perak by H.M.S. *Fly* and *Thistle* till he send troops and strong guard to Perak."

Sir Andrew also received the following letter from Sir William Jervois:—

From Major-General Sir W. F. D. Jervois.

"'PLUTO,' PENANG,

"*26 November*, 1875.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"You must have been grieved to hear of poor Birch having been murdered. The event occurred at Pasir Sala (the place of Maharaja Lela), a few (about five) miles above the Residency at Bandar Bharu. I received two telegrams on the evening of the 3rd, one from Birch, saying everything was quiet and expressing great confidence; the other from Penang, giving account of his murder. At first I did not believe the statement, but on telegraphing two or three times, making inquiry at Penang, I found it was only too true.

"On the 1st November Birch had been down the river to Kota S'tia, and had issued a proclamation of

mine and two proclamations of Abdulla's with reference to the future administration of the Government of Perak. This was done without the least incident all the way up to Pasir Sala. It was also done by Swettenham without incident from about Bota up to Kualla Kangsa. Birch slept in his boat at Pasir Sala, shook hands with Maharaja Lela and Dato Sagor (who lives at Camponj Gaja, opposite Pasir Sala), and in the evening Arshad, his interpreter, put up some proclamations. The proclamations were torn down, whereupon Arshad struck a Malay with a stick. The Malay immediately stabbed Arshad, and a rush was made at Birch, who was bathing in a bath close to the shore. Of his escort (ten men) and boatmen, who were attacked at the same time with him, two were killed and two wounded. Lieutenant Abbot, R.N., who had been shooting on the opposite shore, had a narrow escape. He met the Dato Sagor, who advised him to go into the jungle. Abbot would probably have been murdered if he had not had a gun in his hand. He wisely jumped into a boat, with one man who had attended him whilst shooting, and reached Bandar Bharu, after paddling down the stream exposed to fire from both sides.

"I telegraphed on the 4th to say I was going up at once to Perak, but, unfortunately, before my telegram arrived a detachment of sixty of the 10th Regiment from Penang, with thirty police and about fifty Sikhs, made an attack on Pasir Sala which failed, and poor Innes, R.E., was killed. In this attack the mistake was made of not having a gun or guns on a boat or boats in the river to fire into the stockades before the infantry on land advanced. On the 15th, however, a thoroughly successful attack was made, four very strong stockades taken and six guns captured without loss.

"Meanwhile Davidson has been greatly harassed in Selangor, and reports of bodies of armed Malays coming upon him in several directions alarmed him a good deal. Davidson has been in the field with a mixed force of Chinamen, trusty Malays, and others, and has taken one of the malcontents, named Soulan Riasa, but things are in a very unsettled condition in Selangor. Some of the States about Malacca have also lately been uneasy.

"Some think, but I myself do not think so at all, that a general rising is contemplated in the Malay peninsula. I believe such an idea has no foundation to rest upon. It must be admitted, however, that matters have assumed a threatening aspect, and it is generally believed that the long duration of the war in Achin has had a bad effect on the Malay peninsula.

"The settlement of the Perak difficulty is no easy matter, and it cannot be effected without occupying the country with a military force. We have punished Pasir Sala and burnt it, but the murderers of Birch and the instigators must be got hold of, if possible, and military occupation is essential to enable us to enforce this.

"It is not improbable that there may be no more fighting, and I want to avoid creating a war. I am trying to do as much as possible by negotiation, and have just received a friendly letter from Ismail, but this, though only received by me yesterday, is dated November 2nd, before Ismail knew of Birch's murder. Some reports say that Ismail has called out the Ulva people, and that he is bringing I don't know how many thousand men into the field to turn the British out. I myself do not believe anything of the sort, but amidst the reports one receives and the difficulties of obtaining correct information, it is necessary to be prepared both for peaceable settlement, supported by display of force, and for actual hostilities, should negotiations be found impracticable. I expect to be able to bring about a settlement of difficulties by diplomacy.

"I am deluged with work now, and it would take me too long to go into the causes of the state of things in Perak, but I hope to be able to tell you what I think on this on a future occasion.

"I can, however, now say that I believe one cause was the putting of Abdulla on the throne, another, poor Birch's impetuosity.

"Yours sincerely,

"W. F. DRUMMOND JERVOIS."

The last paragraph of this letter called in question the judgment of Sir Andrew Clarke in acknowledging

Abdulla as Sultan of Perak, and in selecting Mr. Birch as British Resident at Perak. Writing to his friend, Mr. Childers, on the 10th December, 1875, Sir Andrew says :—

To the Rt. Hon. H. C. E. Childers.

"I believe in every way I was right in putting up Abdulla. Had I taken the other man, I could not have secured the peace of the coasts, or the lower parts of the rivers, my first object, as Abdulla and his party are strong there, while Ismail and his followers are high up the river where we have no trade, and where we need not go for years. . . . No doubt Abdulla is a weak, vain fool in some things, but he was ten times better than old Ismail."

And again in the succeeding year he justified his selection of Abdulla in the following words :—

"To those intimately acquainted with the manners and customs of Malays, it would be evident that Ismail, a foreigner, a man of no family in his own country—a mere Sumatrian *parvenu* in short—who had never been anything beyond a servant—a good and useful one perhaps, but still a servant—to former sultans, could never have been allowed to govern Perak."

As to his selection of Mr. Birch to be British Resident at Perak, in writing on the subject to Mr. Evelyn Ashley, M.P., Sir Andrew said :—

To the Hon. A. E. M. Ashley.

"Poor Birch, it is said, was impetuous and hot-headed, and that I was to blame for selecting him. He was energetic, zealous, and loyal, and as long as I kept him to a policy of patience and conciliation all went well."

Shortly after Sir William Jervois wrote to Sir Andrew the letter of the 26th November, the rein-

forcements for which he had telegraphed on the 7th to Hong Kong and to India began to arrive. Major-General Colborne,[1] with 300 men of the 80th Regiment, came from Hong Kong, Brigadier-General Ross,[2] with 1,250,[3] from Calcutta, and Naval Brigades were formed from H.M. ships which arrived on the station.

Three columns were formed. The first, under General Colborne, ascended the Perak River in boats, and, after five days' travelling, landed at Blanja. General Colborne left a small force there, and marched on Kinta, the principal town of the country, experiencing some opposition on the way and much difficulty in transporting his guns, ammunition, and stores over an almost impassable jungle. Kinta was occupied on the 17th December after slight resistance.

The second column, under General Ross, disembarked at the mouth of the Larut River, and marched to Kualla Kangsa. From that place, which is on the Perak River, General Ross sent Colonel Philip Story, with 250 men, down the river to Blanja, whence they joined General Colborne at Kinta on the 21st December. General Ross himself, on the 4th January, 1876, successfully attacked, though with some loss, the hostile village of Kota Lama, long the haunt of the worst-disposed and most turbulent Malays. He also made expeditions against other disaffected villages in the neighbourhood with equally satisfactory results.

The third column, under Colonel Clay, operated in

[1] Major-General the Hon. Francis Colborne commanded the troops at Hong Kong and the Straits Settlements. He was afterwards General the Hon. Sir Francis Colborne, K.C.B.

[2] Afterwards General Sir John Ross, K.C.B.

[3] The force was composed of a mountain battery R.A., the 3rd Buffs, the 1st Gurkhas, and a company of Madras sappers.

Sungei Ujong, where the Malays occupied a very strong position in a narrow defile between two jungle-covered hills, called the Bukit Putus Pass, which they had fortified with formidable stockades and other obstacles. Colonel Clay attacked the pass on the 20th December, 1875, captured the stockades, and, after some fighting, carried the position and put the Malays to flight. The enemy were completely cowed and disheartened by this defeat.

After nearly a year's military occupation of the Native States the troops were withdrawn and replaced by a native police force chiefly composed of Indians.

A reward had been offered for the apprehension of the murderers of Mr. Birch. Some, including Maharaja Lela, were captured in February, 1876, and either executed or punished with life sentences of imprisonment. Ismail surrendered at Penang in March with the greater part of the regalia, and was handed over to the charge of the Maharaja of Johore, who referred to him in a letter to Sir Andrew, dated May, 1876:—

From the Maharaja of Johore.

"Ismail has at last come in. My officers drove him to the boundary of Kedah, where he submitted to the Sultan. He is now here on parole, and will remain here until the pleasure of the British Government is known. A few days ago I was successful in obtaining from him his 'chop' as Sultan of Perak. This is worth more to the British Government than the whole of the regalia."

Ismail died in Johore in September, 1889. Abdulla was deposed from the sultanate of Perak and, with three of his chiefs, the Laksamana, the Mantri, and the Shahbandar, brought to trial at Singapore, found guilty, and deported to the Seychelles Islands. In

1894 Abdulla's case was reconsidered, mainly at the instance of Sir Andrew Clarke, and he was allowed to return to Singapore. In his exile he learnt English, and when he came to London he saw and conversed with Sir Andrew on several occasions. On his return to the Seychelles to arrange for his departure for Singapore he wrote a letter, dated 15th of February, 1895, expressing his gratitude to Sir Andrew Clarke for his kindness to him.

MONUMENT, PERAK WAR

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CHAPTER IX

MEMBER OF COUNCIL OF THE VICEROY OF INDIA

1875–1880

WHEN it was decided at the end of 1874 to enlarge the Indian Public Works Administration, and to place at its head an additional member of the Viceroy's Council, Lord Salisbury, who was then Secretary of State for India, had good reason to believe that a large and increasing portion of the revenue might be advantageously assigned to productive public works. He selected Sir Andrew Clarke for the post on account of his successful administration of the Admiralty Works Department during a time of expansion, and Sir Andrew went to India, looking forward to a period of activity in developing the resources of the country by improved communications and other beneficial public works.

He arrived at Calcutta on the 4th June, 1875, and was welcomed on behalf of the Viceroy by Mr. Justice, now Sir William, Markby. Lord Northbrook was, of course, at Simla for the summer months, and thither Sir Andrew and Lady Clarke made their way without loss of time. On reaching Simla, Lord Napier of Magdala, then Commander-in-Chief in India, invited them to stay with him until they could settle themselves comfortably, but they had already accepted a similar in-

vitation from Mr. Arthur Hobhouse, the Legal Member of the Viceroy's Council, and before long they got into a house of their own, Kennedy House, which they occupied during the summer stay of the Government in the hills during the five years they spent in India.

An important event which the Government and people of India were looking forward to when Sir Andrew arrived was the approaching visit of the Prince of Wales, now His Most Gracious Majesty King Edward VII. Sir Andrew interested himself in bringing the Maharaja of Johore to meet the Prince, and the Viceroy invited His Highness to attend the chapter of the Star of India to be held on New Year's Day, 1876. The invitation was accepted, and the sensible Maharaja, writing to Sir Andrew on the subject of his visit, said: "As the grandeur of the Indian maharajas will quite eclipse a Malayan's, perhaps the more unostentatiously I travel the better." The presence of this Malay chief, whose attitude to the British Government had been conspicuously cordial, and who entertained a personal friendship for the late Governor of the Straits Settlements, provided an additional feature of interest at the Durbar, and was particularly agreeable to Sir Andrew.

The Prince landed in Bombay on the 8th November, and after a tour in Southern India and Ceylon, arrived at Calcutta a few days before Christmas. Sir Andrew and Lady Clarke took part in all the festivities that marked the occasion of the Prince's visit to the seat of government in India, and, on the 30th December, His Royal Highness honoured them with his company at dinner. The Prince left India in March, 1876, and in the following month Lord Northbrook was succeeded as Viceroy by Lord Lytton, whom Mr. Childers, in a letter to Sir Andrew telling him who was to be the

new Viceroy, described as "a man of genius who has to win his spurs in administration."

Hardly had the Prince of Wales left India when the proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India, at a great Durbar to be held at Delhi on the first day of 1877, began to occupy the attention of the Government. Sir Andrew greatly desired that the occasion should be seized to institute an Imperial Indian Senate, in which the principal princes and chiefs of India would be associated with the great officers of the paramount power in an Indian House of Lords, and he unfolded his scheme in the following letter to Mr. Montagu Corry, then Private Secretary to the Prime Minister:—

To Mr. Montagu Corry, afterwards Lord Rowton.

"SIMLA, 18 *May*, 1876.

"MY DEAR CORRY,

"One line to suggest to you to support the extensions of what has been commenced, and to take advantage of the present moment and give now to the princes and people of this country some recognition that they have a political and national existence.

"If done now, you will consolidate and strengthen the English power in this peninsula and call a true Empire into life and vigour. Neglect it, and you will give form and force to what has not as yet gone beyond the state of vague doubt, as to whether the recent visit and the new title are to India but a mockery and a deceit. Extend to the nationalities of India the manifest responsibility of having a share in directing its destiny, and you surround the Imperial Crown with a triple line of defence.

"All this can be for the time, and with wisdom for all time, secured by the creation of a Diet, Imperial Senate, call it what you will, of the principal chiefs of India associated with the great officers of the paramount power and the representatives of English commerce and industry.

"In this body, peers of parliament, whilst in India,

can take their seats, and Indian princes belonging to it should, on the other hand, when in England, have the rights and privileges of peers. The annual session of this body should be limited by law to a certain number of days, and it should not meet twice running in any one of the great cities of India. The Viceroy should open and close the session, communicating by message, but not presiding or taking a part in its deliberations. The presiding officer should, for the time being, be the Chancellor of the Empire, and, as a rule, the men you have sent as Law Members of Council have been above the average of good men, and I should entrust the office to them.

"The present Supreme Council should have the control of all its business, which should be purely consultative and legislative, on the direct motion or assent of the Crown. The several local British administrations should be represented both in their judicial and executive or administrative branches, and the European commercial and planting industries should have independent representatives.

"Certain of the great feudatories should have permanent seats, and the minor ones, grouped in electoral colleges, should nominate to each session its representative. So, with the great heads of families, now altogether British, some might have hereditary seats, whilst others would only sit for limited periods as representatives of their several orders and provinces.

"Such is the skeleton of a body which, when clothed, would give to India a new national life, and to the sovereignty of England a crown covering a real and autonomian Empire.

"Yours, etc.,

"A. CLARKE."

It is said that Lord Lytton was not absolutely averse to the idea thus presented by Sir Andrew, but expressed a fear that when the Indian people got their House of Lords they would want their House of Commons too, which, said he, "would be the ruin of all things." Nothing further can be traced in reference to the proposal.

It was at Sir Andrew's suggestion, a suggestion with which Lord Lytton readily fell in, that the King of Siam was invited to be present at the Delhi Durbar. The King wrote to Sir Andrew :—

From H.M. the King of Siam.

"ROYAL PALACE, BANGKOK,
"*27 November*, 1876.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have just now received your letter, and I thank you sincerely for the good wishes and kind offers therein contained. I am especially pleased that the Government of India should think well of my efforts to improve matters in Siam ; that will encourage me to proceed farther.

"It has been impossible for me to accept the Viceroy's invitation. I could not leave my Government for so long a time without long prearrangement, but I hope that my being represented by His Highness Somditch Chao Phraja Paramaha Sri Sirujawongse, as my ambassador, will be appreciated by the Government of India. His Highness bears a letter to you in which I have asked for much assistance from you. . . . His Highness is of high dignity and honour. During my minority His Highness governed as Regent, and to this day he is considered and treated as exalted in the land. . . . His Highness takes great interest in engineering, and has himself carried out many works of that nature. He will be naturally attracted by the great engineering works which are under your control, and which I beg you will give him favourable opportunities of inspecting. . . .

"I am very much gratified by your promise of assistance and advice, for it will be of great service to me to have at times the advice of one who is, by his high position, raised above all personal consideration and above the jealousy and ill-feeling so abounding even in good men in Bangkok.

"The course of internal politics in Siam has been very quiet ever since your departure, the only exception being an invasion of a part of Upper Siam by Haw Chinese, who were conquered and quelled by our

forces. I have felt it better to defer the prosecution of further plans of reform until I shall find some demand for them among the leaders of my people. I have not relinquished them, but act according to my opportunities.

"My health has been good. Each year I grow stronger, and when at times I feel fatigued and not very well, a few days spent in the country or on the coast makes me strong and well again.

"I send you herewith my photograph just taken, which I beg you to accept as a memento of me.

"I am your very good friend,

"CHULALONKORN R."

The King kept up a regular correspondence with Sir Andrew during his service in India, and discussed with him at some length matters relating to forest disputes on the frontier of Siam bordering on Burma. He complained much of the conduct of the British Consul-General, who was evidently not a *persona grata* to His Majesty. Some time after the Delhi Durbar was over, the King of Siam's brother, Prince Kaphia, came to India on a mission, and Sir Andrew entertained him, and took some trouble to get his wish to be attached to one of our cavalry regiments gratified.[1] He served with it for six months, and then returned to Siam, where he died not long after.

In the meantime, Sir Andrew's activity as head of the Public Works Department had received a check. Before Lord Lytton's arrival, the exchange value of

[1] On this occasion the King of Siam made a very handsome present to Lady Clarke. He had intended to send her a beautiful mat made of fine plaited ivory, which was in a temple at Bangkok, and was the only mat of its kind in the world; but the priests and dignitaries objected, because, in accordance with an old custom, every Siamese king had to sleep on it the night before his coronation, and on this account it was regarded as national property. King Chulalonkorn, therefore, had an exact copy made of the ivory mat for Lady Clarke, and it was sent to her in January, 1878.

the rupee had begun to fall, and, much to Sir Andrew's chagrin, Lord Northbrook had found himself obliged seriously to curtail the Public Works Estimates for the ensuing year. At the same time gloomy prospects of bad harvests opened in more than one province of India, indicating scarcity of food, if not actual famine. The consequence was that the funds which it was assumed would be available for productive public works were required for other purposes, and the policy of developing the resources of the country by such works was strangled almost at its birth.

As regards famine, Sir Andrew held the conviction that the proper way to combat scarcity of food was a large expenditure on public works of utility, especially railways, because not only was employment thus given to the people, and wages to buy food, but at the same time the country was opened up, and the transport of food and fuel made easier in future. The convictions, however, of a Member of Council are of little avail unless he can carry a majority of his colleagues with him, and especially the Finance Minister, who, like the Chancellor of the Exchequer at home, holds the purse-strings and controls expenditure. This he was at first unable to do.

In July, 1877, the extent of famine in the Madras Presidency raised some apprehension, and Lord Lytton went to Madras to see the state of affairs for himself. He left Sir Andrew at Simla to devise a scheme of public works in Oude and the North-West Provinces, with a view to mitigate the evils of famine, should it come to those parts, as seemed likely. Sir Andrew had offered to accompany the Viceroy to Madras, but his presence at Simla was so much required that Lord Lytton felt himself obliged to dispense with Sir

Andrew's personal assistance, which he did in his inimitable way :—

From the Viceroy.

"It is with a good deal of reluctance and very real regret that I have resisted the temptation of your most friendly offer to accompany me. Your assistance and companionship would have been not only very helpful to me in a variety of official ways, but also a great social comfort."

As Sir Andrew could not accompany the Viceroy, he took some trouble to smooth his way in Madras, and Lord Lytton, writing to Sir Edwin Johnson, said :—

From the Viceroy.

"Will you kindly tell Clarke how gratefully I appreciate his helpful co-operation in all the matters which brought me to Madras? It has been most advantageous, and has greatly eased my difficulties."

Upon the Viceroy's return from Madras, Sir Andrew addressed a letter to him setting forth some of his views of famine relief, from which a very short extract is made :—

To the Viceroy.

"Practically what up to this date I had been contending for was that if public treasure was to be appropriated in order to save life and mitigate the horrors of the widespread failure of harvests . . . the remedy . . . was to find the people the means of earning subsistence for themselves, and this, I urged, could best be done by Public Works Agency, which was to vary from its ordinary procedure as little as possible. . . .

"Now, however, in Madras and Mysore, the system which has been adhered to in Bombay, namely, that of the Public Works Agency, has been adopted so as to deal with the crisis, and, no doubt, should that which is now threatening us in Northern India become a reality the same policy would obtain."

In February, 1878, in a published report of a speech delivered in Council, the following observations occur on the extension of railways, which he so strenuously advocated:—

"Whatever views may be held on the subject of railways, there is this justification for their extension, that since October, 1876, they have carried into the heart of the afflicted districts upwards of one and a quarter million tons of food grains, representing the supply of seven and a half millions of people for twelve months at one pound per head a day. . . . I claim for the Public Works officers of the State that to them should, very early in a campaign against famine, be entrusted the agencies to fight it. Operations should not be postponed till to scarcity and lack of means are added disease and emaciation among the people, to say nothing of the inseparable demoralisation. This is the more essential in this country, where it is not from a total absence of food within the country itself that men perish, but from the absence of means of acquiring it."

The soundness of these views cannot be questioned, and they describe the policy in famine matters pursued ever since by the Government of India.

Reference has been made to Simla as the summer seat of the government of India, but, as a matter of fact, Simla was not officially recognised as the second administrative capital of the country until 1876, the year after Sir Andrew's arrival in India. At that time the Viceroy lived in an ordinary bungalow named Peterhoff, which was rented from its owner, and the communications about this hill-station consisted of mere bridle-paths. Until something definite was settled there was a natural indisposition to spend public money on the station, but when once it was officially decided that Simla was to be the seat of

government for half the year, Sir Andrew was able to take the matter in hand. Both Lord Lytton and he took personal interest in the development of the place, and particularly in the important work of laying out new roads as carriage-drives about the neighbourhood in lieu of the bridle-paths. After careful consideration it was decided that Sir Andrew's proposal to reconstruct and enlarge Peterhoff as a vice-regal residence at a cost of £80,000 was both the most satisfactory and the most economical of the many proposals, and it was adopted.[1]

On the 1st January, 1878, the most eminent Order of the Indian Empire was instituted by the Queen-Empress of India, and Sir Andrew Clarke was declared one of the official Companions of the Order under the statutes. It was in this year that Sir Andrew succeeded in establishing the Indian Defence Committee, which has done so much good work. The Navy was represented on it by Rear-Admiral John Bythesea, V.C., and the Committee took up with energy the question of defences at Aden, Karachi, Bombay, the Hugli, and Rangoon. Sir Andrew also had the assistance of Admiral Bythesea, who was the official adviser of the Indian Government on naval matters, in examining the works for a harbour at Madras, which he visited in February, 1878, and upon which he made a very thorough and valuable report.

From Madras Sir Andrew went to see the gold region of the Wynaad valley. Many traces of gold had been found and some encouraging assays made, but the resources of the prospectors were nearly exhausted, and the time allowed for prospecting was drawing to a close.

[1] It is a curious fact that no deodar was used in the reconstruction of Peterhoff, because the smell of this wood always made Lord Lytton ill.

Under the circumstances, Sir Andrew wrote to Lord Lytton on 7th March, 1878:—

To the Viceroy.

"It would be only fair for the Government to give this industry a chance. The promoters of the companies have hitherto been persons who have hesitated to embark much capital, and the whole of the operations therefore have been spasmodic. The first thing I would advise being done is to obtain the services of a thoroughly scientific and practical miner to prospect the whole of the auriferous reefs in this part of the country."

Sir Andrew recommended that Mr. R. Brough Smyth, late Secretary and Chief Inspector of Mines in Victoria, who had served under him at Melbourne twenty years back, should be asked to report on the goldfields of the Wynaad, and Lord Lytton approved the recommendation. In October of the same year Mr. Smyth reported: "I have now got on the run of gold, and there is no doubt as regards the future of the Wynaad." Early in the following month the reports were more definite. One reef yielded fifty-six ounces per ton, and when the Duke of Buckingham was present a cake of gold was produced that indicated probably four or five hundred ounces per ton. On receiving these reports Sir Andrew at once wrote to the Viceroy:—

To the Viceroy.

"SIMLA, *6th November*, 1878.

"MY DEAR LORD LYTTON,

"After leaving Council to-day I received a note, of which I enclose an extract, from my old Mining Surveyor, Brough Smyth,[1] whom you allowed me to

[1] Mr. Brough Smyth returned to Australia, and died near Melbourne in 1889.

bring up from Australia to prospect the Wynaad, after my visit there last February. If one-half or one-tenth be true and be confirmed by further experience (for in Australia three dwts. to the ton pays), we have 'struck ile' indeed, and we may hope to see the rupee at 2.6 again, whilst the elimination of loss by exchange from our annual estimates will remove all anxiety about a possible Afghan Bill! I shall be anxious to hear what the Duke writes to you. "Yours, etc.,

"A. CLARKE."

To this Lord Lytton made reply:—

From the Viceroy.

"*Thursday Evening.*

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"I must apologise for not having sooner thanked you for the excellent and important news contained in your letter of last night, for which I am very much obliged. The possession (if Mr. Smyth's present impressions be confirmed) of extensive 'gold-diggings down south' cannot but have very important economic effects upon India. What those effects may ultimately be, will doubtless depend much on the manner in which so great and sudden an accession to the mineral wealth of India is dealt with, and what that should be is a question not easy to answer off-hand. But I think that Mr. Smyth's letter to you fully justifies the strong impression that we really have 'struck ile,' and this opportune discovery may be of incalculable importance to the solution of our financial difficulties. . . . With renewed thanks, "Yours, etc.,

"LYTTON."

The development of the gold industry in the Wynaad owes something to the action of Sir Andrew Clarke, and although it did not appreciably affect the exchange value of the rupee, it did bring a considerable amount of British capital into India, and made Indian undertakings attractive to the general investor.

Among the most remarkable engineering achieve-

ments of this period was the bridging of the River Sutlaj at Adamwahan. The bridge was 1,050 feet in length, and it crossed the Sutlaj by sixteen spans, the foundations of the piers being 100 feet below the bed of the river. Sir Andrew considered that the completion of a work of such magnitude, and carried through by his department under many difficulties, and in a malarious district, deserved some special notice. He suggested to Lord Lytton to telegraph to the Queen, informing Her Majesty of the opening of the bridge, and asking permission to name the bridge "The Empress." This was done, and a gracious reply received that the bridge should be called "The Empress's."

As a member of the Viceroy's Council, Sir Andrew had something to say at the Council Board on the subject of the frontier policy, and the relations of the Government with Afghanistan. In 1876 he advocated the construction of a line of telegraph following the caravan route from Shikarpur through the Bolan Pass to Quetta, thence *viâ* Kandahar and Girishk, to Herat, and on to Meshed, joining the Indo-European system at Teheran. Such a line, he believed, would afford a favourable pretext for negotiations with the Afghan Amir, who might be induced to allow Kabul to be connected with the system by a line under his own management and control. As it would pass through Afghanistan it would be important in the interests of trade and commerce, and worth an effort to enlist the goodwill and support of the Amir.

Another proposal he brought before the Council was the immediate survey for a line of railway from the Indus at Sakkar to the Bolan Pass. But he was unable to carry either project.

In the following year he explained his views on the Russian advance to Kizil Arvat in a letter to the late Mr. James Hutton, the journalist:—

To Mr. James Hutton.

"SIMLA, 27 *June*, 1877.

"MY DEAR MR. HUTTON,

"I see a paragraph in your paper deprecating the hysterical anxiety that Government is said to feel with regard to the Russian advance upon Kizil Arvat. You point out that Kizil Arvat is 400 miles from Merv, and that this latter place is more easily accessible from Bokhara *viâ* Charjui. It is on this latter point that I write a few lines.

"Between Bokhara and Merv the physical obstacles are undeniably considerable. Desert tracts have to be traversed, and the Oxus has to be crossed. From Kizil Arvat to Merv, on the contrary, there is said to exist already a good road, which could easily be made available for the passage of wheeled traffic and artillery. There are no physical obstacles to be overcome, and there is said to be abundance of good water along the whole route.

"But this is not by any means to my mind the only important feature of this advance. It has always struck me that Russia, though able to maintain a force in Turkestan sufficient to overawe the Central Asian tribes, could never mass any large body of troops in that quarter. The distance from her base at Orenburg is enormous. The Orenburg-Tashkent line is precarious for the passage of large bodies of troops.

"Russia has discovered this, and she wishes to avoid these obstacles by establishing some other line of communication that would enable her to concentrate her vast resources. The line to Kizil Arvat will enable her to do this, for the harbour of Ashurada, which she already possesses, would be in direct steam communication with Central Russia, and with the Army of the Caucasus, moving along the line Poti-Tiflis-Baku.

"I grant that to establish a position at Kizil Arvat on a sufficiently extensive scale to be of use to a large force must be a question of time. Still, I think that

when once the Army of the Caucasus is set free by the cessation of the struggle in Asia Minor, we shall have grave cause for anxiety if Russia has been allowed, in the meantime, to commence a fortified post between Krasnovosk and Merv. "Yours sincerely,

"A. CLARKE."

Sir Andrew continued to press on the Viceroy and Council the importance of a railway to Quetta. Major (afterwards Sir) James Browne was engaged under his instructions in exploring routes for turning the Bolan either by Sibi or by a direct route from Dera Ghazi Khan, *viâ* Chotiali and Thal. This officer succeeded in gaining an extraordinary influence over the warlike Kakar tribes, and Sir Andrew proposed to utilise this influence to enable him to get a railway survey made of the last-named route, but his recommendations passed unheeded.

When the Mission of Sir Neville Chamberlain was prevented entering Afghanistan by an armed Afghan force, and British troops were ordered to invade the country, Major-General Roberts wrote to Sir Andrew on the 23rd September, 1878:—

From Major-General F. S. Roberts.

"You will, of course, nominate the R.E. officers for the several columns. The Commanding Royal Engineer I would prefer is Colonel Perkins,[1] but if there is any difficulty about his getting away from his present work, I should be glad to have Colonel Hichens,[2] who could perhaps be more easily spared.

"There is a junior officer I should much like to have on account of his knowledge of Persian and his general

[1] The late General Sir Æneas Perkins, K.C.B. He was appointed Commanding Royal Engineer to Major-General Roberts's column, and remained with him until the end of the war.

[2] The late Major-General William Hichens, C.B., was Commanding Royal Engineer with the Quetta column.

intelligence—Captain Pierson,[1] now working under Sir Alexander Taylor. Would there be any chance of my getting him? . . . Of all the junior officers I would prefer Captain Pierson."

General Sir Samuel Browne wrote to Sir Andrew:—

From Sir S. Browne.

"No more Council for me. I'm off to Peshawar. My nomination to the command of the 1st Division Peshawar Field Force was most unexpected and unsolicited. I am hard at work packing and writing at the same time, so excuse a scrawl."

In November, 1878, Sir Andrew wrote to Mr. Childers from Simla:—

"I myself never had any hope that the Chamberlain Mission would be allowed to pass. . . . What I want is a British Agent with a strong escort at Balkh and Faizabad, dominating the valley of the Oxus, the armed occupation of Herat and Kandahar, and the acceptance by us of the protectorate, or whatever it may be called, of the tribes of the Suleiman range, who in turns have given their allegiance to us and to Kabul, on condition of their being paid by one or the other. Of late years Kabul has paid them, so the Amir claims authority over them, and hence one of our present difficulties and muddle.

"The universal topic of conversation in all native society, though suppressed, is—'Is the English rule coming to an end, and are we going to pass under that of the White Czar?' You ask then what the *dessous dēs cartes* really is. The answer is that our influence, if we are to keep in India, even from a sentimental point of view, must be paramount in Afghanistan; from a practical point of view, if we do not know what is going on beyond the Suleiman range, it will pass away. . . .

[1] The late Major William Henry Pierson, R.E., one of the most talented officers in the Army. He was Military Secretary to Lord Ripon in 1880. He died in 1881, when Commanding Royal Engineer in the Mahsud Waziri campaign.

"We made a great mistake in 1873; we made a greater one in 1876. Our Cabinet at home neglected to warn off Russian generals from interference in Kabul. In 1877 we told the Home Government that interference in Afghan matters . . . had become the subject of high Imperial policy which the Cabinets of London and St. Petersburg alone could determine. Our remonstrances and warnings were laughed to scorn. Then came the realisation of our fears. . . ."

We have seen how eager Sir Andrew was in 1876 and 1877 to start a railway to the Bolan. When war became imminent in September, 1878, he brought the question again to the notice of the Viceroy. But Lord Lytton did not see his way to sanction the proposal, and the matter was again shelved. Then Sir Andrew suggested a short surface railway from Sakkar to Shahpur, but this Lord Lytton opposed, on the ground that it could not be completed in time to facilitate the army transport service to Quetta. Sir Andrew, however, as usual hammered away, and on the 18th January, 1879, he wrote to the Viceroy:—

To the Viceroy.

"At the risk of exposing myself to being charged with contumacy and insubordination, I feel that before accepting as hopeless and final any reopening of the decision given against going on at once with a military surface line of railway from Sakkar across the desert to the nearest hills on the route to Quetta, I must offer a few more words for your consideration. . . ."

Sir Andrew then in a few cogent paragraphs showed that if he had been allowed to proceed with this line when he proposed it, the railway would have been then completed as far as Guranari, and have been of the greatest use; he quoted the important part played by even the short length of 250 miles of the Indus Valley

Railway, and mentioned that had he not pressed on the Sutlaj Bridge, completing it in seven months instead of two years, the troops which were then at Kandahar would barely be entering the pass. He concluded with great earnestness :—

"Forgive me, my dear Lord, for my importunity in this matter. . . . If I have gone further than our relations would justify in this remonstrance of mine against a decision which, so far as I can gather, has been arrived at on imperfect and defective data, and on which issues, wholly foreign to the original object, have been raised and may have prejudiced that decision, I have done so because I feel convinced that if events which are probable, however much I trust they may be avoided, do occur, I would have been guilty, had I remained silent, of neglecting my duty to yourself."

There was no immediate result of this appeal, but in July, 1879, Lord Lytton himself drafted a note on frontier communications, in which, among other works to be constructed during the coming cold season, was "laying a line from Sakkar to the foot of the Bolan pass, if our funds admit of it." Shortly after came the news of the massacre of Sir Louis Cavagnari and his staff at Kabul, and Sir Andrew was instructed to press on with the Sakkar-Bolan line with all despatch.

Writing on the 8th September to Mr. Childers about the sad news of the massacre, Sir Andrew said :—

To the Rt. Hon. H. C. E. Childers.

"We do not know yet what has become of the Amir, or even if he is alive. In his last to us (Thursday) he said he was left with only five followers. There has been no doubt of Yakub's loyalty. . . . Herat, I suppose, we must now have. I quite agree with you. My views are recorded, and will come out some day, that when we first heard of the Russian Mission in July, last year, if we had sent then clear and specific terms

to Shir Ali, telling him that we would do for him what we have now done for Yakub, he would have thrown himself back into our arms. . . . I too am anxious about Persia and Russia. Russia on the Persian Gulf will be a bad day for us in India."

During the five years that Sir Andrew held office in India there was one subject of controversy with which his department was much concerned; this was the question of the gauge of the railways. The battle of the gauges was fought as keenly in India as it had been at home. Writing in 1879 to Mr. Edward Stanhope, then Under Secretary of State for India, Sir Andrew said:—

To the Rt. Hon. Edward Stanhope.

"If our railway questions come under your notice, though I stand alone, I hope you may be able to support my view that we are unwise in constructing the Bombay and Delhi Railway on the metre gauge, and that orders may issue to revert to the originally sanctioned broad gauge for the Ahmedabad-Palanpur section. See my dissent in Railway Despatch No. 24 of this year.

"The two Stracheys are my great opponents, and they have committed themselves past redemption to the metre gauge, and as they hold the purse-strings, I am, of course, helpless here. I admit I never did believe in the efficiency of the metre gauge, but as an economic agent I was content to see fair play given to it, and would not have been sorry to see it a success. But admitting that certain defects may yet be worked out, the fact stands now beyond dispute that in order to make a narrow-gauge system pay, the rates for fares and freights must be double those on a broad gauge. . . ."

There is a voluminous correspondence between Lord Lytton and Sir Andrew Clarke. Much of it is of a confidential character, and furnishes evidence of cordial

regard and mutual esteem, although they did not always see eye to eye on matters of policy. In fact, as time went on, and proposal after proposal made by Sir Andrew was rejected by the Viceroy, official relations between them became somewhat strained. But the following note from Lord Lytton to Sir Andrew is an instance of the charming manner in which the Viceroy could write when some question had arisen in which he had disagreed with Sir Andrew :—

From the Viceroy.

"MY DEAR COLLEAGUE,

"Your letter makes me most unhappy. In writing the one to which it is a reply there was one feeling uppermost in my mind, it was a grateful and affectionate recognition of the loyal, valuable, and suggestive support I have hitherto received from you in the treatment of every important question. That to a colleague so esteemed and trusted as yourself my letter should, even for a moment, have appeared to imply reproach or complaint is a matter of the deepest regret and distress to me. I can only assure you that nothing could have been further from my heart than such a sentiment when I wrote.

"Sincerely yours,

"LYTTON."

To this Sir Andrew responded :—

To the Viceroy.

"If I have erred on the side of over-sensitiveness, it has arisen from a heartfelt desire to relieve you of all anxiety as to the interests entrusted to my charge."

Towards the end of October, 1879, Sir Andrew thought of returning home on leave for the winter on account of his own and Lady Clarke's health. In the ordinary course his term of service in India would expire in the following summer, but there was some

doubt as to whether his appointment came under the five years' rule. In any case, in order to secure his half-pay during furlough it would be necessary for him to return to India. Lord Lytton very kindly offered to arrange with the Secretary of State that in case Sir Andrew did not wish to return to India the difficulty about his pay should be overcome, and he concluded his letter as follows :—

From the Viceroy.

"Although our official relations have not always been such as I could have wished, this does not affect my personal feelings towards yourself, nor diminish my desire to meet your wishes or promote your interests after you leave India by any means that may be practically in my power."

Lord Lytton further submitted Sir Andrew Clarke's name to the Queen for the honour of a Knight Commandership of the Star of India by telegram, "so that if possible," as he wrote to Sir Andrew, "the *Gazette* which notifies your leave may also announce your admission to the Order." Unfortunately, there were no vacancies and the Queen objected to make an extra knight, although Lord Lytton pressed it as a personal favour. So the matter fell through, and with the resignation of Lord Lytton a few months later was dropped altogether.

Sir Andrew eventually decided to postpone his departure on leave until the end of January, 1880, and in the meantime to make a month's tour round the coast of India before sailing from Bombay, Lord Lytton very kindly taking over the work of the department himself.

Sir Andrew had gone to India anticipating an expanding policy in public works, which nobody could

have directed better than himself. Instead, depreciation of silver, apprehension of famine, and frontier wars forced upon the Government of India a policy of severe retrenchment and economy during the whole term of his office.

Owing to this state of affairs, Sir Andrew's Indian Public Works record consists mainly of great schemes formulated, carefully examined, and recommended in able minutes, but precluded from execution at the time for want of money. Long after he had left the Council some of his proposals were carried out on the lines he had contemplated, and his name will always be associated with the reorganisation of the department over which he presided, and the establishment of a distinct Military Works Branch, by which many difficulties were solved and anomalies done away with.

Before he left Calcutta Sir Andrew received several proofs that his work in India had been appreciated. Three of his colleagues on the Viceroy's Council, Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, Sir Edwin Johnson, and Sir C. Rivers-Thompson, gave a dinner in his honour at the United Service Club on the 15th January, 1880, and on the following evening his brother officers of the Royal Engineers entertained him at a farewell banquet, at which the late General J. T. Walker, Surveyor-General of India, presided. The chairman alluded to Sir Andrew's

"valuable labours and minutes on Indian harbours in general and the Madras harbour in particular, which had long been the *bête noir* of engineers, but which, thanks to his fostering care, promises soon to become an accomplished fact; on railway operations in India, and the adaptation of Indian rolling stock to military purposes; on the reorganisation of the engineering establishment in this country; on the Aden and

Bombay defences and the general proceedings of the Indian Defence Committee; on the subject of technical and industrial training for the poorer classes of Europeans and Eurasians; and last, assuredly not least, on frontier communications and frontier railways, such as the line now being carried with marvellous rapidity from Sakkar to Sibi and into Afghanistan."

Colonel Walker coupled with the name of Sir Andrew that of Lady Clarke,

"of whose kindness, brightness, and genial hospitality we must ever," he said, "retain most pleasing and grateful recollections."

Sir Andrew was much touched with the reference to Lady Clarke, and, in concluding his remarks in returning thanks for the honour done him, he said:—

"Lady Clarke has always thoroughly identified herself with the Corps and its traditions; she invariably talks of its officers as So-and-so, of 'Ours'; when she hears from me to-night of the toast that has been drunk, she will, I know, be most deeply gratified at the kind expression of the feelings of my brother officers towards us both."

The Representatives of the Guaranteed Railways presented Sir Andrew with an address expressing their "high appreciation of his broad and liberal policy," and acknowledging their obligations for the "improved relations between the Government of India and the railway companies which have been established under your auspices."

After their trip round the Indian coast Sir Andrew and Lady Clarke sailed from Bombay in the P. and O. steamer *Bokhara* on the 21st February, 1880. On arriving at Suez they took train across the Delta to Alexandria, where they joined the ill-fated *Travancore*,

and three days after leaving Egypt were wrecked off Otranto. For a time they were in the greatest peril, but eventually the passengers were all rescued.

Mrs. Childers wrote from Pontefract on the 16th March to Sir Andrew:—

From Mrs. H. C. E. Childers.

"Hugh is very busy now canvassing. We were very sorry to hear of your shipwreck, but are delighted that you do not think Lady Clarke has greatly suffered. We hope soon to hear of your arrival in London, and if our house can be of any use to you we shall be delighted if you will make use of it. The election[1] here will be on the 1st or 2nd April."

On arriving in London on 19th March Sir Andrew and Lady Clarke went to stay with Lord Wharncliffe in Curzon Street for a few days, and then went down to Bath to Mr. McKillop, Lady Clarke's father. Sir Andrew made Bath his head-quarters until his return to India on the 13th May, but he managed to spend two or three days with Mr. Childers at Pontefract during his canvass of the constituency.

When Lord Beaconsfield resigned office, Lord Lytton sent in his resignation of the viceroyalty, and the Marquess of Ripon, who, as Earl de Grey, had been Secretary of State for War when Sir Andrew was sent to the West Coast of Africa in 1864, was appointed to succeed him. It was arranged that Sir Andrew should return to India by the same steamer that took out the new Governor-General, in order that he might give him the advantage of his Indian experience. Lord Ripon left London on the 13th May to catch the *Teheran* at Brindisi, and with him went not only Sir Andrew

[1] This was the memorable general election of 1880, which resulted in the resignation of Lord Beaconsfield.

Clarke, but also Colonel (afterwards Major-General) Charles George Gordon, who, in a weak moment, had accepted the appointment of Private Secretary to the Viceroy, a position for which he was quite unfitted.[1]

The Viceroy and his party landed at Bombay on the 31st May, and on the evening of the 2nd June Colonel Gordon resigned the private secretaryship. The following extracts from Sir Andrew's letters to Lady Clarke tell the story of the voyage out and Colonel Gordon's resignation :—

"*To Lady Clarke.*

"OFF CRETE, P. & O. S.S. 'TEHERAN,'
"*Tuesday, 18th May*, 1880.

"The only letter I got on reaching Brindisi was one from Probyn, sent on by Lord Lyons from Paris, telling me that the Prince of Wales would have wished to have seen me, was sorry that he had not, and that he wished me a prosperous voyage and speedy return to *you*. . . .

"I have a comfortable cabin off Lord Ripon's saloon, and a nice quiet place to read and write in. Yesterday and this morning I have had long talks with him, and have also written a good deal for him. . . . Lord Ripon has talked to me much about his staff and domestic plans. I think he will be an attentive host, and entertain well and much. I do not think he will have cliques or favourites. . . .

"Charlie Gordon is always near me. He is a very fine fellow, but is thrown away as a Private Secretary. I don't think he will remain very long in India unless he gets much interested in it and in the work. . . .

"Barrington Foote, who is the most amusing, comical fellow I ever met, is keeping Lord Ripon and the others in roars of laughter on deck. Gordon is looking very angry, though at times he cannot help laughing."

[1] Writing on the 5th May to Sir Andrew, Colonel Gordon said: "I have to be at Lord Ripon's from ten to three p.m. Transition from a comet to a satellite is not over pleasurable to yours sincerely, C. G. GORDON."

To the same.

"VICEROY'S CAMP, KHUNDWAR,

"4 *June*, 1880.

"From the time we left England Charlie Gordon chafed at the duties and work of a Private Secretary even to a Viceroy. He had been a big man himself, had commanded armies, and had indeed power and authority never exercised even by an English Viceroy. The white lies that are told in official correspondence, the shams of Court etiquette and ceremony, were not to his liking, nor indeed was the necessary subordination of his own will and judgment to those of another man agreeable to him. In a word the office did not suit him, or he it. Still I was anxious to save what would look like a public scandal by his giving up so soon his connection with Lord Ripon, and I hoped some work, a special mission, would turn up more congenial to him, and which he would take up, and to this course he had really assented on Wednesday afternoon (2 June) last, when I left him to drive with Lord Ripon. So you can fancy my astonishment when just as we were sitting down to dinner Gordon told me, with a beaming face and in high glee, that he had done the deed, and sent in his irrevocable resignation to Lord Ripon!

"After the dinner party broke up Lord Ripon asked me to go with him to his room, where we considered the pros and cons, and what should best be done. Of course, to Lord Ripon it was a painful and distressing episode at the commencement of his career as Viceroy, and much evil and mischief might be done him if inaccurate or false stories got coined and circulated as to what Colonel Gordon's conduct was due to; for Lord Ripon had in no way given offence, and he liked Gordon very much, and had all along been ready to yield much to Gordon's ideas and position.

"How then was the rupture to be made with the least chance of its being the cause of blame or evil to anyone? and certain general ideas were laid down by Lord Ripon and myself to secure the result, and then I went to Gordon. At first he was very hard and uncompromising, though on some points he felt deeply and

was terribly distressed. So after a long talk I left him late at night, or rather in the small hours.

"I went to him again at six in the morning, when I found him altogether in a better mood. He then saw Lord Ripon for a few minutes, and returning to my room, dashed off the letter you will have read. Of course, in his letter he went much further than was wanted in taking blame to himself, and in his testimony to Lord Ripon. But he entreated me to let him write as he himself thought best, and when he had written he would listen to no change nor alteration in it.

"It has been a sad thing, and I am very sorry for it. He is a grand, honest fellow; the world would be better if there were a few more like him, enthusiast and fanatic as some would call him, and as he may be."

The following letters were written by Colonel Gordon to Sir Andrew a few days after his resignation:—

From Colonel C. G. Gordon.

"MY DEAR CLARKE, "BOMBAY, 7 *June*, 1880.

"The evening after you left me at 8.30 p.m. came a telegram from Chinese Government Agent in London, asking for my address. It was dated noon, 4th June; my resignation had appeared in papers that morning. I sent my address, and at 3 a.m. on 6th June came an offer from Chinese Government to come to China. I have accepted it and leave on 11th June. I had before thought of Zanzibar. Now I am all right in China and feel quite free. Twenty years ago in June I passed Galle going to China!

"I am so glad to get out of that fearful atmosphere of twaddle and worry. How are you getting on? I hope you will not waste your time in this land, it is not worth it.

"People will say that I left Lord Ripon because I heard of China, but the telegram from China is dated somewhere about 12 or 14 May, and takes some fifteen days to reach London. The Agent of the Chinese Government saw my resignation in papers and then telegraphed me. "Believe me, yours sincerely,

"C. G. GORDON."

From Colonel C. G. Gordon.

"BOMBAY, *8th June*, 1880.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"Tell Lord Ripon that a Russian Resident with him and an English Resident with Kaufmann would prevent any row,[1] provided Lord Granville's line of demarcation was kept.

"The Moscows will catch it. They have not many Russian troops; those they have are exiles for the most part (at least most of those in the Caucasus were); the officers ill-treat and rob them, and do not pay or look after them. If it comes to a crisis the Chinese should never meet them in a pitched battle; they should harry them and encourage desertion, and carry the war into their country. No troops can march like the Chinese, or feed on less. No Geneva Convention exists. Yet if I can do anything I will avoid war, for it does not pay.

"I have prepared telegram if English Government refuse permission: 'Arrange my retirement, commute pension, pay Cox, rank General deprecated, tell brother, telegraph amount.' It was a wonderful thing that I fell so quickly on my legs.

"The Russians cannot blockade the seaports, or they will fall foul of the British on account of the opium trade. There is only one place, which is known only to me, where troops can land near Taku, and which is not fortified. Pehtang and Taku are fortified very strongly, and are impregnable from the front. The place I allude to is not fortified. I had kept my information to myself up to this time, and now shall tell Li Hung Chang.

"9.6.80. To-day Grant[2] telegraphs: 'Must state specifically the position and purpose you go to China.' I mean to return no answer till I start on the 11th June, when I will reply: 'Now ignorant, will write when I know.' Good-bye.

"Yours sincerely,

"C. G. GORDON.

"P.S.—Read *Gazette of India*, part i. page 534, Simla, 7th July, 1879, No. 160, and smile."

[1] This had reference to the Kuldja question.

[2] Colonel J. M. Grant, Deputy Adjutant-General, Royal Engineers, Horse Guards.

On the 10th June Colonel Gordon telegraphed to Sir Andrew: "Have written twice, leave for China Friday, will continue writing."

Sir Andrew's term of service in India expired soon after his arrival at Simla with Lord Ripon, who wrote to him on 17th June, 1880:—

From the Viceroy.

"MY DEAR SIR ANDREW,

"I have received your resignation consequent upon the termination of your appointment. Though I have not had the good fortune to have you for long as my colleague in India, I cannot help seizing this opportunity of thanking you for your varied services to this Government. . . . "Yours very sincerely,

"RIPON."

There was nothing to detain Sir Andrew any longer in India, and as Lady Clarke had given birth to a daughter on the 12th June at Bath, he was naturally anxious to get back home as quickly as possible. He caught the *Indus* from Bombay on the 26th, and, visiting Malta and Gibraltar[1] *en route*, reached England on the 23rd July.

In a letter to Mr. Childers written on the 9th July on his way home he says:—

To the Rt. Hon. H. C. E. Childers.

"I am glad you did not accept Charlie Gordon's resignation. I was angry with him, but it will all come right, and we shall all be still more proud of him. The Arabs say, 'He is no man, he is a god'—homage to his truth and purity."

[1] Entry in Diary, Gibraltar, 18th July, 1880: "Went to see the house now occupied by the Adjutant-General, near the cathedral, in which I spent my July holidays in 1841 with my father and mother. House little altered."

CHAPTER X

COMMANDANT OF THE SCHOOL OF MILITARY ENGINEERING

CHATHAM, 1881 AND 1882

ON arriving home from India Sir Andrew Clarke reverted to the position of a Colonel of Royal Engineers on the home establishment. His long service abroad, with only the hurried run home in the spring, entitled him to some rest, and he was granted leave of absence until the 31st March, 1881.

In due course he was nominated Commanding Royal Engineer of the Woolwich District, but, before his leave expired, the more important post of Commandant of the School of Military Engineering at Chatham, about to become vacant on the 1st April by the transfer of Colonel Sir John Stokes, K.C.B., to the Headquarters Staff of the Army, as Deputy Adjutant-General, Royal Engineers, was offered to him and accepted.

Sir Andrew found the School of Military Engineering a very different place from what he remembered it as a young officer in the forties. The varied duties of the Corps had made a great expansion necessary, and the schools had increased in number as new scientific methods in war required specialisation. The advantages derived by the Royal Engineers from the

instruction given at Chatham had begun to be desired by the rest of the Army, and the school was thrown open to selected classes from the other arms of the service. Thus classes of Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry of the regular Army, and of Militia and Volunteers, were continually passing through the hands of the instructors, and, on their return to their regiments, disseminating the knowledge they had acquired to the various units. In this way the efficiency of the instruction at Chatham affected the whole Army and entailed a heavy responsibility on the Commandant.

One of the first matters to engage Sir Andrew's attention was submarine mining. He took great interest in this very technical subject, and was delighted to find the electrical and submarine mining schools in a high state of efficiency. But to his dismay there was no settled organisation by which the most could be made of the trained men in time of war. With the assistance of his expert advisers,[1] he drew up a memorandum, dated 21st August, 1881, in which he laid down an organisation for submarine mine defence at home and abroad, both as to *personnel* and *matériel*, which formed the basis of future development.

In the autumn of 1881 he invited Mr. Childers, who had become Secretary of State for War after winning his election at Pontefract in the previous year, to pay him a visit at Chatham, and Mr. Childers took the opportunity to make a thorough inspection of the school. Sir Andrew brought him to dine at mess, and after dinner took him out to the Lines to see the electric

[1] The late Colonel (then Major) R. Y. Armstrong, C.B., and Lieuts. R. M. Ruck (now Colonel), and G. A. Carr (now Lieut.-Colonel), R.E.

searchlight, then a novelty, thrown on the siege trenches in front and on skirmishers advancing in the open. Next morning he showed him round all the schools, and in the afternoon Sir Andrew carried him off to Hoo Fort, and introduced him to the mysteries of a submarine mining test-room fitted with the latest improvements, where, by pressing a button, he was able to explode a mine of 100 pounds of gun-cotton in the Medway minefield.

Sir Andrew's great affection for Sir William Denison has been frequently referred to in these pages. When he came to Chatham he was surprised to find that the only memorial of his old chief was an engraving which hung in one of the mess ante-rooms. He at once formed a committee to consider how the founder of the Corps Libraries and the Corps Professional Papers could be most suitably honoured. The outcome was a portrait in oils painted by Mr. Charles Lutyens, from old prints and photographs, which now hangs in the Chatham mess. Sir Andrew was a great supporter of Corps memorials, particularly of portraits of distinguished officers, and at the Annual Corps Meeting in London next year he spoke in support of a proposal that General (afterwards Field-Marshal) Sir Lintorn Simmons should sit for his portrait, and added his "testimony to the general feeling of admiration for Sir Lintorn felt by the whole Corps." He became chairman of the committee to carry out the proposal, and the result was the masterpiece by Mr. Frank Holl, R.A., executed in half a dozen sittings, which was exhibited in the Royal Academy Show of 1883, and now hangs in the R.E. mess at Chatham.

In the autumn of 1881 a Bill was lodged by the South

Eastern Railway Company to obtain powers to make a tunnel under the English Channel for railway communication between France and this country. Sir Andrew gave the scheme his hearty support and wrote a long letter to the daily papers on the 13th February, 1882, explaining his views and maintaining that there need be no difficulty in making such a tunnel secure against hostile attack, while the commercial benefit would be enormous. He was appointed a member of Major-General Sir Archibald Alison's Committee to consider what steps should be taken to make the tunnel harmless in case of war. The Committee did not report until after Sir Andrew had left Chatham, but he continued to be a member until the Committee was dissolved in the autumn of 1882. The Bill was thrown out because it violated some of the stipulations of the Committee. Strong opposition to the scheme was shown on all sides, and the Press was generally hostile to it. Sir Andrew's views were not shared by most military experts, and the opposition has not decreased as years have passed. The silver streak that surrounds the old country is still maintained inviolate.

In the spring of 1882 Lieutenant-General (afterwards Sir) Thomas Gallwey, Inspector-General of Fortifications, accepted the government of Bermuda and prospectively vacated the appointment he held. There was considerable discussion as to the officer who would probably be selected to succeed him. The office of Inspector-General of Fortifications was an ancient one, and, since its name was changed from Chief Engineer of England in 1787, had always been filled by a general officer. The holder was practically the head of the Corps, although the nominal head was its Colonel,

H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge.' The position was a prize which it was the highest ambition of the ablest and most distinguished officers who had reached the qualifying rank to attain. Of the seven generals then eligible for the post, four were already holding special appointments, but the remaining three were at the time unemployed and waiting for some vacancy to occur. Two of them were decorated with the Victoria Cross and the insignia of the Bath, while the third was an able administrator and an expert in engineering and building construction. Speculation therefore concentrated on which of these three would be chosen.

Then came a bolt from the blue. It was announced that Colonel Sir Andrew Clarke was to be the new Inspector-General of Fortifications and Director of Works. He was then only fifth on the list of colonels, and of course there was a howl that a job had been perpetrated by Mr. Childers in putting his friend into this important position over the heads of others. To the Secretary of State the nomination presented itself in a very different light. He knew that an important epoch was approaching when large problems of defence must be dealt with, and he wanted a man who, from his wide range of thought, his knowledge of political difficulties, his fecund brain, and his personal intimacy with himself, would be a help and support to him in a way that no other could be.[1] There was no question that Sir Andrew Clarke had already had successful experience in equally high positions to that to which he was now nominated, and while there might be others as well qualified to undertake the general superintendence of large schemes of defence involving heavy expendi-

[1] Mr. Childers's submission paper to the Queen on the subject of Sir Andrew Clarke's appointment is given in the Appendix.

ture, Sir Andrew so entirely possessed the confidence of Mr. Childers that it was not unnatural he should be selected. As to the two distinguished soldiers who had won the Victoria Cross, there was this to be said—they had been originally some years junior to Sir Andrew Clarke, and had been promoted over his head for war service, and as they were also a good deal younger they could afford to wait.

Congratulations on his good fortune poured in on Sir Andrew. Lord Ripon wrote from Simla on 22nd May, 1882:—

From the Marquess of Ripon.

"I cannot let a mail go since I received the intelligence of your appointment as Inspector-General of Fortifications without sending you a few lines to say how much I rejoice at your selection for so high and important a post. I do not know whether you prefer it to a civil appointment, but at all events it places you at the head of your own profession, and in a position which must gratify all your friends. I hope that now you are at the War Office you will not forget the interests of India. We generally get no money and very little justice from that department."

Major-General Sir Frederick Roberts also wrote from Ootacamand, India:—

From Sir Frederick Roberts.

"We were so glad to read in a recent Reuter that you have been appointed Inspector-General of Fortifications. . . . The post is such an important one, and the work must be so interesting, that I don't think you will wish to go abroad again. It would be very pleasant to have you here as Governor, but you are so well placed at the head of the Royal Engineers in England that I would not wish you elsewhere, even to have you and Lady Clarke in this Presidency. We hope that you are both very well, and that *Miss Clarke* is flourishing."

General Gordon's congratulations came some months later :—

From Major-General C. G. Gordon.

"QUEENSTOWN, CAPE COLONY,
"2 *October*, 1882.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"Thanks for your note of 18th August received yesterday. I *never* have had a letter since I left for Mauritius from you. *I always answer letters as soon as I get them.* I hope you and Lady Clarke are well and happy. I am glad you have got the place you have, and hope you like it. As for me, I am here with a weak Ministry who will take no action. I report to them the defects of the Native Government, the bad magistrates, etc., which drive natives into rebellion. They do nothing; so I say, as I am not a colonist, I will not be used to fight natives goaded into rebellion. You ought to try for the Cape Government. It is a fine field for a man of activity. . . . If H.M. Government do not stir themselves they will have a Dutch Government in ere long. For myself I shall get away as soon as I can, for I can do no good. I only stay for decency's sake. Kind regards to Lady Clarke.

"Believe me, yours sincerely,
"C. G. GORDON."

During the fifteen months that Sir Andrew Clarke was Commandant of the School of Military Engineering at Chatham he smartened it up a great deal. It was impossible for such a restless brain, always brimming over with some new ideas, not to have a stimulating influence on the selected officers who formed his staff. Field-Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood, who for a part of this time commanded the Chatham Garrison as a Brigadier-General, was loud in his praises of the improvement effected during Sir Andrew Clarke's rule. The Assistant Commandant,

the late Colonel C. E. Harvey, R.E., wrote in May, 1882:—

"I fear your removal from Chatham draws near. I am truly sorry for it, as you have already pulled up the school so much in your short reign."

Another officer, writing from Calcutta about the same time, said:—

"Officers who have gone from India and come back speak glowingly of the liberal spirit which you have established at Chatham, and for which you receive full credit."

No narrative of Sir Andrew's service at Chatham would be complete that did not refer to his connection with the Brennan torpedo. Within a few months of his coming to the School of Military Engineering, he became acquainted with the inventor, Mr. Louis Brennan, a young man who came to England from Melbourne in response to inquiries from the Admiralty about his torpedo. The Admiralty, after arranging for some experiments from a Government vessel, rather abruptly decided not to proceed any further in the matter, and Mr. Brennan was put in communication with Sir Andrew Clarke at Chatham.

To Sir Andrew the invention seemed so ingenious that he not only took it up warmly himself, but impressed upon Mr. Childers the importance of a weapon of such promise. At the end of January, 1882, the torpedo was run in the River Medway in the presence of Sir Andrew and some of his officers, who were all struck with its capabilities. Not long afterwards Sir Andrew invited Sir George Bowen and some other friends to come down to Chatham to see a run of the torpedo. Something went wrong, and the

fish sank. Much upset, Mr. Brennan went to Sir Andrew to apologise for the contretemps, and to explain how it had probably occurred. He looked so dejected that Sir Andrew felt his disappointment more acutely than his own. The inventor relates how touched and cheered he was by the kind way in which Sir Andrew received his explanation. Putting his hand on Mr. Brennan's shoulder, Sir Andrew said to him, "Never mind, my dear fellow, it will be all right next time. If you are not engaged, come and dine with us to-night and tell us all about it."

At a later date, when the Adjutant-General, or some other high official from the War Office, saw the torpedo run, it was arranged that instead of seeing it from the shore he should go out in a launch and witness it from the river. When the party in the launch had reached the appointed station, the torpedo was started. To their surprise it made straight for the launch, and as it continued rapidly to approach them some alarm was expressed for their safety. Just as it seemed inevitable that the launch would be hit, the torpedo was turned round and made for the shore. Such a perfect command over the movements of the weapon was convincing evidence of its dirigibleness.

Although encroaching chronologically on succeeding chapters, it may be as well to complete here the story of Sir Andrew Clarke's connection with the torpedo, and of the further development of the invention.

Shortly after Sir Andrew became Inspector-General of Fortifications an agreement was entered into upon his recommendation with Mr. Brennan and his partner, Mr. J. R. Temperley, by which the inventor engaged to superintend the construction of the torpedo for three years. At the end of that time the Government was

to be free to decide whether they would buy the invention or not. When the three years were over Sir Andrew was still in office, and on his strong recommendation the Government bought the invention.

The justification of Sir Andrew's courageous support of the Brennan torpedo was fully demonstrated when the first installation was completed for the defence of the Solent. The late Mr. Edward Stanhope was the Secretary of State for War, and with a large party of members of Parliament, officers of the head-quarters staff, and ladies and gentlemen from Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight, including the late Lord Tennyson, the Poet Laureate, who lived close by, assembled to see the sight.

A powerful tug towed a large old wooden vessel with a very long tow-rope down the Channel with the tide. It was a lovely summer morning, warm and bright; there was no wind, and the sea was quite calm. As the tug, with the doomed vessel some distance behind her, approached, the excitement became intense. The inventor himself steered the torpedo from the shore. Suddenly there was a cry, "She has gone!" and the big fish was seen to run down the ways into the sea and then sink below the surface, leaving only the steel mast with a small flag visible. The ripple caused by the mast cutting the water marked the course of the torpedo, but the mast and the ripple were more difficult to see as the torpedo moved further away. Then as the tug and the ship came swinging along on the top of the tide, it seemed to those on shore as if the fish had started too late and would go astern of the hulk. There was consternation, and cries of "She has missed!" Then suddenly the mast with the little foam ripple, which

was astern of the ship, turned and pursued the hulk. Running, as it seemed, parallel with it, the fish gradually gained upon the vessel, and when it had got abreast of the forward part, like a greyhound overtaking a hare, the fish turned sharp in and bit into the ship amidships, blowing her to pieces with a loud report. Amid a volume of smoke rose a great column of water and débris of the hulk. Great was the cheering and many the congratulations offered to the inventor from Melbourne.

Even as early in the history of the torpedo as September, 1885, Sir Andrew Clarke had considered its use from shipboard for the defence of harbours. He suggested to the Minister of Defence of Victoria, for the protection of Port Phillip entrance, two fast rams, which might carry half a dozen Brennan torpedoes, to deter an enemy's cruisers from hovering about the entrance, intercepting merchant steamers and cutting communications. Seven or eight years later a small vessel was fitted by the War Department with a Brennan torpedo installation, and experiments carried out near Sheerness. Many distinguished naval officers were present, and recognised how successful they were, but the fact of a torpedo being attached by wire to a ship in motion condemned it for naval use. The objection may be valid enough if an ordinary warship be used, but it does not seem to apply to a vessel constructed especially for the purpose. A dirigible torpedo, completely under control from the ship, in spite of shorter range and less velocity, possesses great advantages over even the improved Whitehead, and would be most useful for harbour defence.

An amusing incident occurred at Chatham during

the time Sir Andrew was Commandant, which is related by his daughter, in connection with the well-known illegibleness of his signature :—

Two friends of Sir Andrew and Lady Clarke were given tickets bearing the Commandant's signature to admit them to special seats at some sports which were taking place on the Lines. On arriving at the entrance they were refused admittance, because the tickets had "cancelled" written across them. After some trouble and annoyance, an officer was able to put matters right, and explain to the ticket collector that the word supposed to be "cancelled" was really the Commandant's signature, "And. Clarke." Apologies followed, and the bearers of the tickets found their way to Lady Clarke, when there was much chaff as to the signature with a double meaning.

CHAPTER XI

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF FORTIFICATIONS

1882–1886

SIR ANDREW CLARKE was gazetted Inspector-General of Fortifications and Director of Works on the 10th June, 1882, and was given the temporary rank of Major-General, but he did not succeed to the establishment of general officers until the 21st May, 1884. No sooner had he assumed the duties of his new office than he became immersed in the preparations for a campaign in Egypt, and, at the same time, several weighty measures of defence, that had been incubating for years, suddenly became living, practical problems.

First came the defence of coaling stations for the Navy. This question had been discussed and written about for a quarter of a century. In 1862 Lord Carnarvon had drawn attention in the House of Lords to the urgent nature of the problem of colonial defence, and for many years he and a few far-seeing statesmen and naval and military experts had persistently brought pressure to bear upon the Government of the day to induce them to move in the matter. At last, in 1879, a Royal Commission was appointed, with Lord Carnarvon as chairman, to report upon "the Defence of British Possessions and Commerce Abroad," and the final report was rendered the month after Sir

Andrew went to the War Office. The Royal Commission emphasised the paramount importance to the British Empire of secure coaling stations for the Navy, and their proposals included the defence of Sierra Leone, Ascension, St. Helena, Table Bay, Simon's Bay, Mauritius, Colombo, Trincomali, Singapore, Hong Kong, King George's Sound, Thursday Island, Esquimalt, St. Lucia, Jamaica, and Aden.

Almost at the same moment Lord Morley's Committee on the Defence of Mercantile Ports of the United Kingdom made their report. This Committee, which had sat for a year, was also the outcome of many years of repeated representations to Government, and their report was dated July, 1882. The localities recommended for defence were: Aberdeen, Dundee, the Firth of Forth, the Tyne, Sunderland, Hartlepool, the Humber, and the Downs, on the East Coast; Falmouth, on the South Coast; and Belfast and Dublin, in Ireland.

These two reports were referred to Sir Andrew for his consideration and advice; and simultaneously the revision of the defences of the imperial fortresses at home and abroad became a pressing matter. The ammunition, magazines, and the guns were alike insufficiently protected, owing to the increased power of penetration of projectiles, while the armament left much to be desired.

Thus *pari passu* with the new defences of coaling stations and mercantile ports schemes had to be prepared for the revision of the old defences of Harwich, the Thames and Medway, Dover, Portsmouth, Portland, Plymouth, Milford Haven, and Cork Harbour at home; and of Halifax (Nova Scotia), Bermuda, Gibraltar, and Malta abroad.

While these defence proposals were crowding in, the bombardment of Alexandria by the British fleet took place on the 11th July, 1882, and the despatch of Sir Garnet Wolseley's expedition to suppress the rebellion of Arabi occupied everyone's attention. Sir Andrew, accompanied by his aide-de-camp, Captain G. W. Addison, visited Chatham on the 2nd August to inspect the Royal Engineers ordered to Egypt, and a week later went to Gravesend to see them embark.

The bombardment of Alexandria happened at a most opportune moment as an object lesson of practical utility to the military engineer. There had not been anything precisely of the kind since Lord Exmouth bombarded Algiers in 1816 with a wooden fleet armed with smooth-bores, and in view of the large schemes of harbour defence proposed to be undertaken, it was of importance to know, as precisely as possible, what was the effect produced upon shore batteries by the big guns of a powerful modern fleet. Sir Andrew determined to send an officer to Alexandria to make a detailed examination of the effect of the bombardment and to furnish a full report. Whom should he send?

The late Sir Henry Cole, K.C.B., Superintendent of the South Kensington Museum, was once called "that astute detector of useful men," and the same might be said of Sir Andrew Clarke, who certainly had the faculty of putting his hand on the right man for any particular work he wanted done. It so happened that in the previous year he had been struck with the merit of a volume of the R.E. Professional Papers, written by a senior subaltern of the Corps, who was at the time an instructor at the Royal Engineering College at Cooper's Hill. This volume contained a very able account of

the operations at Plevna, in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, and was, in fact, the first complete history of the defence of Plevna that had appeared in any language. Sir Andrew was unacquainted with the author, Lieutenant G. S. Clarke,[1] who, although bearing the same name, was in no way connected with Sir Andrew's family, and who, at the time of the bombardment of Alexandria, was serving as a captain at Gibraltar. "Here," thought Sir Andrew, "is the man I want." So Captain Clarke was sent from Gibraltar to Alexandria to report on the effect of the bombardment.

In a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, covering Captain Clarke's report (published as a blue book in 1883), Sir Andrew, after pointing out that the selection of Captain Clarke for this duty had been amply justified by the report he had made, called attention to the harmlessness of the attack on Alexandria, considering its nature and the character of the defences attacked. He pointed out that the fleet was much more powerfully armed than the defence, that it had a much superior *personnel*, and fought under favourable conditions. The sea was not rough, the fleet was in possession of the harbour, the defence had no submarine mines nor torpedo-boats, and beacons and buoys had not been removed. The general conclusions were that the effect of modern heavy gunfire on earthworks had been overrated, that earthworks should be employed for coast defence where space was available, and should be placed on high rather than low sites, and made as little visible as possible. Sir Andrew was so impressed with the ability of the report that he arranged for the

[1] Now Colonel Sir George Clarke, K.C.M.G., Secretary of the Council of Imperial Defence, and late Governor of Victoria.

transfer of Captain Clarke to the War Office, and two years later made him secretary of the newly formed Colonial Defence Committee.[1]

About a month after the bombardment of Alexandria news came from Suez of a rumoured disaster having befallen a party consisting of Professor Palmer, the Arabic scholar, Captain Gill, R.E., the traveller, and Lieutenant Charrington, R.N., Flag-Lieutenant to Rear-Admiral Sir W. Hewett, who had gone to Nakhl in the Arabian Desert to buy camels for the Indian contingent of Sir Garnet Wolseley's force. Inquiries were set on foot with no result, and the Government feared the worst. Again Sir Andrew was ready with a man who, he recommended, should be sent at once to trace what had become of the party. This was Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Warren,[2] C.M.G., who had been on Sir Andrew's staff at Chatham, and who was well acquainted with Arabs and their ways. He succeeded in tracking the murderers of the party and in capturing eight of them, who were brought to trial, convicted, and hanged. In January, 1883, Sir Andrew wrote to Colonel Warren: "You are doing your mission right well; we are all proud of you." In the following April, Sir Andrew represented the Corps at the burial, in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, of the remains of the murdered Englishmen, which had been brought home by Colonel

[1] This Committee was formed in 1885, when war with Russia was imminent, on the initiative of Sir Andrew Clarke, the late Sir Robert Herbert, Permanent Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the Hon. Robert Meade, Assistant Under Secretary, in order to bring the Colonial Office into touch with the military services on questions connected with colonial defence. The Inspector-General of Fortifications was *ex-officio* president. The Colonial Permanent Under Secretary was a member, and there were also three members from the War Office, one from the Admiralty, and one from the Treasury.

[2] Now General Sir Charles Warren, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

Warren, who was created a K.C.M.G. by the Queen for his services.

In connection with Sir Garnet Wolseley's short and brilliant campaign in Egypt, Sir Andrew organised a military railway corps to take over the abandoned Egyptian railways, and construct a line from the base at Ismailia to supply the army as it advanced. He secured the services of Major W. A. J. Wallace,[1] manager of the Northern Bengal Railway, who happened to be at home on leave from India, as Director of the Railway Corps, and put the 8th Company, R.E., commanded by Captain Sidney Smith, at his disposal, obtaining permission from the London, Chatham, and Dover, and the London and South Western Railway Companies for the 8th Company to have the run of their lines and workshops, and pick up as much as they could of railway working, plate laying, engine driving, etc., until they embarked for Egypt.

This corps did good work in Egypt, and Mr. Childers decided to have a nucleus of a permanent military railway corps. In the session of 1882, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, he said: "I am considering the feasibility of converting one or more companies of Royal Engineers into a railway corps, with permanent cadres which could be rapidly expanded when required for active service, but the details have not been worked out." In the following year they had been worked out, and in July, 1883, the Adjutant-General, Lord Wolseley, wrote to Sir Andrew: "I have read your railroad company scheme with great interest. . . . I am most anxious to forward the establishment of a railroad corps, so you can depend upon my aid." Sir Andrew's initiative, and the success of the railway

[1] The late Colonel W. A. J. Wallace, C.I.E., R.E.

work in Egypt, combined to establish the R.E. Railway Companies, of which there are at present three.

In considering the various questions of defence at home and abroad which came before him as soon as he assumed office, one of the first steps Sir Andrew Clarke took was to apply for the assistance of a naval officer. He was fortunate in obtaining the services of Captain T. S. Jackson, R.N.,[1] and so useful did he find this naval assistance that, on his suggestion, the post of Naval Adviser to the Inspector-General of Fortifications was created. Captain Jackson was the first to occupy a position on the War Office staff which has since been held by many distinguished naval officers.[2]

Sir Andrew also arranged that an officer of Royal Artillery should be attached to his staff to advise him on artillery questions, and to keep his office in touch with all the latest developments in gun-mountings, etc. The first officer to hold the appointment of Artillery Adviser to the Inspector-General of Fortifications was Major (now Major-General) D. T. O'Callaghan, C.V.O., R.A.

In June, 1883, Sir Andrew submitted a memorandum on the recommendations of Lord Carnarvon's Commission. Adopting generally the views of that body, he proposed a less costly scheme, which was considered sufficient by the Defence Committee,[3] and approved by the Secretary of State for War as the basis for action.

[1] Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Sturges Jackson, K.C.V.O.

[2] Of these may be mentioned Vice-Admirals Sir C. C. Drury, K.C.S.I., E. S. Poë, C.V.O., and Sir W. H. Fawkes, K.C.V.O.; Rear-Admiral H.S.H. Prince Louis of Battenberg, G.C.B., etc.; and Captain G. A. Callaghan, C.B., and others.

[3] The Defence Committee had existed for many years. It was presided over by the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, and was composed of the First Naval Lord of the Admiralty and the Director of Naval Ordnance, the Adjutant-General, the Quartermaster-General, the

Sir Andrew spent part of the autumn of 1883 in a careful examination of the commercial harbours which Lord Morley's Committee had recommended for defence, and early in January, 1884, he paid a special visit to Newcastle-on-Tyne, where he was the guest of Lieutenant-Colonel (afterwards Sir) Charles M. Palmer, Bart., M.P., and the officers of the 1st Newcastle and Durham Volunteer Engineers. He seized the occasion to urge the importance of submarine mines for the defence of mercantile ports, and advocated the employment of local Volunteers, with a nucleus of Royal Engineers at each defended port. He intended, he said, to try this organisation at the Tyne as an experiment, and hoped in a few months' time to be able to say to the Secretary of State for War that what had been done in the Tyne could be done at all other mercantile ports. Sir Andrew's opinion that the auxiliary forces intended for the defence of ports should be local forces trained at their own door—Submarine Miners in waters that they knew; Artillery, instead of being brought from the North of Ireland to man the defences of Milford Haven and Spithead, raised and trained at those places—was most sound. It is this employment of local Volunteer Engineer Corps, with the assistance of the R.E. Coast Brigade, that made Sir Andrew's organisation of submarine mining defence at mercantile ports such a success, and the efficiency of this nature of defence at the Tay, the Forth, the Tyne, the Tees, the Humber, the Clyde, the Mersey, the Severn, and Falmouth is a tribute to his judgment.

Inspector-General of Fortifications, the Director of Artillery, and the Deputy Adjutants-General for Artillery and Engineers, with the Deputy Inspector-General of Fortifications, at the head of the Fortification Branch, as Secretary.

Sir Andrew submitted his report upon the proposals of Lord Morley's Committee in January, 1884. He advised the omission of the defence of the Downs and that Holyhead should be substituted. He advocated the defence of the Clyde at a line at or above Gourock, and objected to the proposal to attempt to make a defence at the Cumbraes. The Defence Committee accepted his recommendations except as regards the Clyde, but eventually Sir Andrew's views on this point also were adopted, and the defence above Gourock approved.[1]

The preliminary stages of the defence of the coaling stations necessarily took some time. The funds were provided partly by contributions from the colonies and partly by parliamentary votes, and there was much correspondence between the War Office, the Colonial Office, and the Treasury, which delayed the beginning of the works. Aden and Hong Kong were the first coaling stations to be put in hand. Sir Andrew sent Captain (now Colonel) J. F. Lewis to Aden in 1883 to survey sites and design the works which were begun the following year. The Earl, afterwards Marquess, of Dufferin, on his way out to India as Viceroy, stopped at Aden and wrote to Sir Andrew after he reached Calcutta on the 1st January, 1885:—

From the Earl of Dufferin.

"I stopped at Aden and went carefully over all the fortifications. Everybody there seemed perfectly satis-

[1] In a long letter, full of instructive matter, to Mr. (afterwards Sir) Thomas Sutherland, dated 1st July, 1885, and subsequently published in the *Times*, Sir Andrew gave his reasons for preferring the upper line. He showed that, owing to the width and depth of the channel west of the Cumbraes, a satisfactory defence at that point was impossible. The heaviest gun armament would not prevent ships passing through, and submarine mining defence in such deep water was impracticable.

fied with your plans for their improvement. The only suggestion made by General Blair was that if a defensive barrack were placed at the head of the Gold Mohur Valley, it would serve the double purpose of a sanatorium and a protection to Steamer Point more effectually from the east than the proposed block-house. As far as I can learn, the Government of India is quite contented with your plans, and has no suggestion to make."

From Hong Kong Sir George Bowen, the Governor, hearing that the defence works were about to be taken in hand, wrote to Sir Andrew in 1884:—

From Sir George Bowen.

"Many thanks for your exertions to procure some additions to the so-called defences of this now practically defenceless Gibraltar of the East. We have been practically at the mercy of the French Admiral, who has been here for the last seven months with a powerful squadron, with which he could any day, during the prolonged absence of our Admiral in Japan, have landed 3,000 troops from Tonquin and quietly taken possession. Our garrison consists of only about 600 effective English solders, and there are only four open batteries, into which anyone can march from the rear. As French, German, and Russian officers have said to me, if either of their nations seized Hong Kong, they would put 5,000 troops into it and make it a real Gibraltar."

At the end of 1883 Sir Andrew had sent Captain (now Colonel Sir) Herbert Jekyll to Singapore to survey the sites for the defence works there, and in March, 1885, Sir Andrew arranged with the Colonial Office that Captain McCallum,[1] R.E., Colonial Engineer of the Straits Settlements, should take charge of the execution of the works. The following extracts from a letter dated 12th April, 1885, to Sir Andrew Clarke

[1] Now Colonel Sir Henry McCallum, G.C.M.G., Governor of Natal.

from Mr. Pickering, whose name will be recalled in connection with Perak affairs in 1874–5, tell how serious was the anxiety at Singapore on account of the unprotected condition of the port:—

From Mr. W. A. Pickering.

"We are now expecting every hour to hear of war[1] being declared with Russia, and perhaps that France is joining her against us. We have the *Curaçoa* and *Cleopatra*, with a gun-vessel *Espoir* to defend us, and some Russian men-of-war are supposed to be outside in the Archipelago waiting to hear of hostilities being declared. I don't think we need be afraid of any Russian force, but the French fleet combined with them would give our blue-jackets all their work, though I suppose, in spite of armour and machinery, the men will tell nowadays as they did of yore. . . .

"I have no doubt that we can defend ourselves if we only put up a stiff back, and I am glad to say that McCallum, who is in charge of our defences, is everything any Englishman could wish. . . .

"Some four weeks ago a telegram came from the Secretary of State asking about getting Chinese labour for the Suakin Railway. It arrived on Sunday, and I went to the head of the strongest society, and in twelve hours he promised 500 men at twelve dollars a month per head if I would go with them. McCallum and I both volunteered to organise, equip, and conduct the contingent."

However, it is not our purpose, nor have we space, to enter into the details of the unpreparedness for war of our foreign possessions and colonies, or of the active steps taken while Sir Andrew Clarke was Inspector-General of Fortifications to begin the construction of adequate protection for them. It will be more to the point to call attention to the earnestness with which

[1] On account of the Penjdeh incident.

he endeavoured to lay down principles for the guidance of his officers in designing the new works.

In the summer of 1884 Sir Andrew arranged for a series of very instructive experiments which were carried out at Inchkeith, in the Firth of Forth. The Admiralty allowed H.M.S. *Sultan* to be temporarily detached from the Channel Squadron to attack a battery on Inchkeith Island, and the results of fire from machine and quick-firing guns, and the effects of shrapnel shell from heavy guns, were carefully tabulated. Dummy figures were placed in the gun emplacement on shore to represent the gun detachment serving the gun. Experiments of a similar kind were afterwards carried out at Portland Bill, the results showing the hopelessness of naval attack on disappearing guns. Many important problems were solved by these practical trials, and Sir Andrew felt he was on sure ground when he prepared a draft memorandum embodying the principles he proposed to lay down, which were to a great extent the outcome of the Report on the Bombardment of Alexandria, already referred to, and of these Inchkeith and Portland Bill experiments.

In his draft memorandum he pointed out how different were the data of presumed attack from those that existed when the defence of our naval bases at home was last undertaken. He showed that to meet the attack of modern ships of war, high sites should be adopted for the shore batteries when possible, and the heavy guns dispersed so as to bring a concentrated fire on a hostile ship, which could only attack one or two such batteries at a time. He dwelt much on the value of background as influencing the accuracy of hostile fire, and on the importance of concealing the

defence works by planting trees and shrubs, and by many other devices. He laid stress on the advantage of high-angle fire from concealed howitzer batteries in order to prevent the enemy anchoring their ships; and he advocated the use of earthworks, where space permitted, and the employment of sand, when available, for the parapets.

Before issuing this paper as a War Office memorandum, Sir Andrew sent copies of his draft for criticism to many eminent authorities.

Admiral Sir A. Cooper Key wrote to him on 3rd November, 1884:—

From Admiral Sir A. Cooper Key.

"I thoroughly agree with your Memorandum on Coast Defence. It recognises and inculcates principles which I have advocated for many years, viz.: (1) the dispersion of guns for coast defence; (2) placing them on a height withdrawn from the shore; (3) that batteries alone will never stop a ship from running past them. . . .

"In many places vertical fire will entirely deny an anchorage to an enemy with no risk whatever to the howitzer."

Field-Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala wrote on 7th November:—

From Field-Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala.

"Pray forgive my delay in replying to your note and most interesting instructions, which appear to me excellent. I have made one or two pencilled notes for your consideration and correction by your better judgment. Very many thanks for letting me see the instructions."

The distinguished Belgian engineer, the late General Brialmont, whose defence works at Antwerp, Liége,

Namur, and also at Bucharest are well known, and whose writings on fortification have a world-wide reputation, wrote to Sir Andrew from Brussels on 7th January, 1885:—

From General A. H. Brialmont.

"I received your study on the protection of heavy guns for coast defence at the moment when I was occupied in writing on the same subject. I learn with pleasure that my ideas on the defence of coasts do not sensibly differ from yours. The principles which you lay down are excellent, but before adopting all your conclusions as regards open batteries, I should like to know the type which you propose to apply. . . .

"I also am a partisan of the dispersion of batteries, but I wish that each battery should be sufficiently strong to repulse attacks *de vive force* by landing parties. This is, in fact, the way by which sailors will seek to seize guns which they cannot silence by the artillery of their ships. . . ."

And three weeks later General Brialmont wrote again:—

From the same.

"Your memorandum on Coast Defence very satisfactorily completes that which you previously sent me, and it permits me to say that you have, in my view, laid down the 'true principles' of coast defence. . . . Accept, my dear General, all my thanks for sending me your very interesting notes, which I ask your permission to reproduce in part in my book in course of publication."

Always ready to welcome any proposal, however novel, that showed not merely ingenuity, but also some likelihood of practical utility in matters of defence, Sir Andrew Clarke was one of the first to press upon the Government the advantage to be derived from torpedoes and from submarine vessels for harbour

defence. We have seen how he fostered Mr. Brennan's invention of a dirigible torpedo. The Admiralty had taken up the Whitehead invention, but the submarine vessel was left alone, in spite of Sir Andrew's advocacy, until its adoption and development by foreign navies forced our Admiralty to reconsider their decision.

As an instance of Sir Andrew's prescience may be quoted his Memorandum of April, 1885, when our relations with Russia were strained, and war seemed imminent. In this paper, after taking stock of our defences and making various suggestions, Sir Andrew strongly recommended, in addition to all his other proposals, that £20,000 should be provided for a submarine boat.

The late Mr. T. Nordenfelt had recently invented a submarine vessel, and Sir Andrew regarded the invention as one likely to revolutionise naval tactics. With some of the officers on his staff he attended the Nordenfelt submarine boat experiments, carried out in September, 1885, by order of the King of Sweden and Norway. The trials took place at Landskrona, in Sweden, on the Sound, and although they proved in some respects inconclusive, they undoubtedly gave a great impetus to submarine navigation. On his return from Landskrona, Sir Andrew recommended the Government to buy Mr. Nordenfelt's boat and make a thorough investigation of the question of submarines by searching and systematic experiment. To this recommendation the Government turned a deaf ear; but Sir Andrew was always persistent in any proposal he thought good for the service. So we find him on the 5th February, 1886, presiding at an influential meeting of the members of the Royal United Service Institu-

tion, when Mr. Nordenfelt lectured on his submarine boat. Admiral H.R.H. the late Duke of Edinburgh was present, and took a prominent part in the discussion that followed the lecture, in which many other distinguished naval officers joined.

The retirement of Sir Andrew in the following summer turned his thoughts into other channels. Nothing was done for the next fifteen years. Then the success achieved by France and other countries compelled the British Government to move in the matter. Once started, indeed, our naval officers have lost no time, and have done excellent work. But if Sir Andrew had had his way in 1886, there is no saying how much further advanced the submarine boat might have been by this time.

In the spring of 1885 Sir Andrew spoke at a meeting at Willis's Rooms, under the presidency of Earl Cowper, on the defence of our commercial ports. Sir Andrew attributed the sense of insecurity generally prevailing as to our mercantile ports, of which the meeting was a practical expression, to the inadequacy of the strength of the Navy for the work it had to do. He went on to say that the Navy was, and must ever be, the offensive arm of the Empire, and must be free to carry the might of England across the world. To tie the Navy to our ports would be to paralyse its action and enfeeble the conduct of a war. He pointed out that submarine mines constituted a most valuable defensive arm. He hoped to see the day when the defences of our ports would be so well provided in *matériel* and *personnel* that it would be merely necessary to telegraph to the great ports in order to call their defensive energies into life. Each port, he said, should and might be so

completely organised for defence that on the outbreak of war the local forces would fall simply and naturally into their places.

And here it should be noted that while no one was a more thoroughgoing and staunch supporter of a strong Navy than Sir Andrew, no one resisted more resolutely the suggestion of some ultra-marine reformers that the defence of our naval bases and coaling stations should be handed over to the Navy. He strongly objected to hampering the Navy with questions of harbour defence. In his view the rôle of the Navy was attack, and that the Army should relieve the Navy of all anxiety as to the security of their naval bases and coaling stations.

The Australasian colonies, and particularly Sir Andrew's old colony, Victoria,[1] looked to the Inspector-General of Fortifications for advice on defence questions. This he was always ready to give, taking the greatest pains to explain his views, and going into the details with great thoroughness. The following extracts from a long letter to Colonel the Hon. (afterwards Sir) Frederick Sargood, Minister of Defence for Victoria, written in September, 1885, show not only his care as to details, but that he never lost sight of the broader

[1] Sir Andrew's old friend, Sir Henry Loch, had been appointed Governor of Victoria in the spring of 1884, much to Sir Andrew's pleasure, and wrote to him before leaving:—

"44, ELM PARK GARDENS, S.W.,
"4 *April*, 1884.

"MY DEAR ANDREW,

"A thousand thanks for congratulations. It seems very strange going, after thirty years' interval, to those parts where we were together as young men. I trust I may succeed, both for the colonists and for myself. I shall be delighted to have a talk with you upon all subjects, and I will look in upon you for that purpose some day after Easter.

"Ever yours,
"HENRY B. LOCH."

issues that would conduce to the future strength of the colony, such as his suggestion of a military college for the colony:—

To Colonel the Hon. F. Sargood.

"Before replying to your letter of 8th June I referred the questions which you laid before me to a committee of members of my staff, representing naval, mining, and artillery views, as well as those of pure fortification. I send you the report . . . in which I concur. . . .

"I would again draw your attention to the desirability of keeping the guns at good intervals, and hiding their whereabouts by planting, and by leaving the foreground as much as possible in a natural state. Do not be too much afraid of landing parties. The best defence against them is . . . to keep a small infantry force entrenched in a good central position. . . . Comparatively slight entrenchments, with a liberal use of wire entanglements, will suffice against any landing party you will have to resist.

"The committee have recommended the employment of howitzers. . . . I have long held the opinion that curved fire has a great future before it, and that its employment for coast service will soon be universal. . . .

"In conclusion, I would strongly advise that your future expenditure on defences should be devoted rather to the perfection and increase of your land forces and the increase of your fleet than to a multiplication of batteries and forts. The former I regard as specially important, not merely as the real backbone of your defence, but because the military training you give is a part of the education of your manhood, and it will exercise a great moral and physical effect over the future of the colony. . . .

"There is one other subject which I would like to see your Administration connected with, and that is the establishment at Melbourne of a military college, similar to the college at Kingston, Canada, which has been such a marked success, and where a most excellent and practical education in Civil Engineering is combined with a soldier's training.

"The course of Civil Engineering at Kingston is so good that the graduates of the college have no difficulty in finding employment, indeed they are sought for, not only in Canada, but in the United States. The loyalty to their engagements, and integrity in their profession, and accuracy in the details of their work, engendered by their habits of discipline, and the general tone of their college life, strongly recommends them for posts of trust and responsibility. I have several young officers from Kingston College serving under my command (one is now my aide-de-camp) who have received direct commissions from the college into the Royal Engineers, and recently under my advice, to remedy the dearth of young officers in the Corps, eleven graduates have been gazetted to the Royal Engineers, while others have been posted to the Artillery and Infantry. Apart from the military needs you have in Australia for such an institution, which should be self-supporting, the college fees covering its cost, the demand for engineers, architects, electricians, mechanicians, must be now becoming so great throughout Australia that there would be a certain field open for their employment.

"I regard the Canadian Military College as one of the best of its class in the world; the training and results are in every way of a high order, and the Americans themselves, I understand, say better than at West Point.

"There is no reason why Australia should not have a military college equally good. It only requires to be started, and now seems as favourable an opportunity as is likely to occur."

In his own branch of the service Sir Andrew managed, during his tenure of office, to effect some salutary reforms and improvements; such were the better training of the Pontoon Troop; the organisation of a troop of Mounted Engineers, who were instructed in hasty demolition and provided with a special equipment to enable them to destroy bridges, railways, etc.; the organisation of Balloon

Sections[1] for service in the field; the practical training of a few specially selected young officers of Royal Engineers, who showed a taste for mechanics, in mechanical engineering at the Elswick Works, Newcastle-on-Tyne; and of others in railway work under one of the great railway companies.

The reader will recollect how strongly Sir Andrew Clarke, in his young days, expressed himself on the system by which young officers of Engineers on first getting their commissions were sent straight to Chatham to go through further professional instruction, and how he looked forward to a time when he might be in a position to make his voice heard with some effect, and be able to make a change in this system, which would be beneficial to his brother officers. Now that he had arrived at that position he endeavoured to obtain his object. He quite carried the Adjutant-General with him, and on 5th August, 1884, Lord Wolseley wrote to him: "I think you had better come and see H.R.H. yourself to-morrow about the Chatham course. I go entirely with you on the subject, and I should be very glad to send ten subalterns of R.E. at once to Egypt." But H.R.H. saw a good many difficulties in carrying out what was proposed, and no alteration was made.

Inspired also by his own experiences at Colchester and Birmingham, Sir Andrew made a successful effort to give District Officers of Engineers a freer hand in the application of funds at their disposal for the works in their charge. It is true that neither the finance branch of the War Office nor the Treasury would go as

[1] Balloon sections were sent with the Bechuanaland expedition in 1884, and with Sir Gerald Graham's expedition to Suakin in 1885, and were very favourably reported upon. When the papers were submitted to Queen Victoria, Her Majesty wrote on the margin, "Why was not this done before?"

far as he wished to go in the matter, but a beginning was made of giving increased financial responsibility, and with it increased interest in the work, which has since developed until now the cry of decentralisation meets with approval in high quarters.

On the 6th June, 1885, Sir Andrew Clarke was rewarded for his War Office services by promotion to the Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George, of which order he had been made a knight thirteen years before.

CHAPTER XII

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF FORTIFICATIONS

1882–1886

IN the last chapter Sir Andrew Clarke's work as Inspector-General of Fortifications in respect to the most important of all his duties—the defences of the Empire—was related. In the present chapter some of the many other subjects with which he had to do during his term of service at the War Office are touched upon, such as the Suez Canal, General Gordon and the Soudan, the Suakin-Berber Railway, the Bechuanaland Expedition, and the political question of the New Hebrides and the Australasian Colonies. The particulars of General Gordon's resignation of his commission, and the part Sir Andrew Clarke took in inducing the War Office authorities to reconsider their decision to accept it, and to give him permission to go to the Congo while still serving on the active list of the Army, it is believed have not been published before.

' Among other matters which the campaign in Egypt in 1882 had brought into prominence was the status of the Suez Canal. The importance of the Canal had grown with the years that had passed since Sir Andrew inspected it on behalf of the Admiralty in 1870. His proposal to purchase it had been accepted in principle by Lord Beaconsfield, when the British Government purchased the Khedive's shares for £4,080,000 in 1875,

and secured the presence of British directors on the Board of Management.

The international character of the Canal and its future status in war time were referred to a Committee, of which Lord Granville was president, and Mr. Childers, Sir Charles Dilke, Sir Julian (afterwards Lord) Pauncefote, and Sir Andrew Clarke were members.[1] Shortly after this Committee made its report, Sir Andrew was sent on a special mission to Egypt to look into the condition of the barracks, and to inquire as to the sanitary arrangements for the comfort and health of the British troops of the Army of Occupation. Mr. Childers wrote on the 10th November, 1882, to Lord Dufferin, who had just gone to Cairo, telling him that Sir Andrew was going to Egypt, "to confer with and assist Sir Archibald Alison about military buildings." He added: "I think you know him well, and all I need say is that on this, and indeed on all subjects, he has my entire confidence, and that of the Duke of Cambridge. His stay will be very short, but he will be able to get through a good deal of work."

The result of Sir Andrew's visit to Egypt was the adoption of measures which conduced to the diminution of mortality among the British troops and the improve-

[1] The Committee recommended that the Canal should be free for the passage of all ships in any circumstances; that in time of war a time limitation as to the ships of war of a belligerent remaining in the Canal should be fixed, and no troops or munitions of war should be disembarked in the Canal; that no hostilities should take place in the territorial waters of Egypt, even in the event of Turkey being one of the belligerents; that any Power whose vessels of war do any damage to the Canal should repair such damage as promptly as possible; that Egypt should take all measures within its power to enforce the observance of the conditions imposed on the transit of belligerent vessels in time of war; but that no fortifications should be erected on the Canal or in its vicinity, and that the territorial rights of the Government of Egypt should in all circumstances be respected.

ment of the health of the Army of Occupation.[1] He was also able to examine again the Suez Canal. The traffic through the Canal had developed to such an extent that its enlargement or duplication had become a necessity. Sir Andrew's examination led him to the conclusion that of the two alternatives the widening of the existing canal was far preferable to the construction of a second canal, and in the following August (1883) he wrote a memorandum giving his reasons for the preference at some length.

In order to complete the narrative of his connection with the Suez Canal, reference must be made to the appointment of the International Committee in 1884 to advise the Suez Canal Company on this very point. Sir Andrew was nominated by the Government to be one of the British representatives on the Committee. Some exception was taken to the Government nominees by Mr. Magniac in the House of Commons on the 23rd June, 1884, when Mr. Gladstone stated that every pains had been taken to secure the very best choice of representatives, and that Sir Andrew Clarke was appointed after consultation with the Colonial Office and with the Agents-General of the Australian colonies.

"Sir Andrew had not merely," he said, "been Governor of the Straits Settlements and a member of the Viceroy of India's Council, but he was nominated by the Admiralty as one of the persons commissioned to report on the Suez Canal in 1870. He had since studied the question of the enlargement of the Canal, and his presence on the Committee as an English

[1] Sir Andrew persuaded the Khedive to allot one of his palaces as a hospital for British troops by telling him that Queen Victoria would not hesitate to give up Buckingham Palace for such a purpose, were it necessary. On Sir Andrew's return home, he told the Queen what he had said, and Her Majesty was very pleased.

member would be of special value. The Committee was not a standing Committee, but was appointed to advise upon the enlargement or the duplication of the existing canal."

At the first meeting of the International Committee in Paris on the 19th June, 1884, Sir Andrew was chosen Vice-President of the Committee, which consisted of eight English and eight French members and one member from each other Power. The eventual decision arrived at was in general accordance with the views expressed in Sir Andrew's memorandum of August, 1883.

To return to the end of 1882. Sir Andrew came back from Egypt in December to find that a change had taken place in the Government. His friend, Mr. Childers, was no longer at the War Office, having become Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his place at the War Office was filled by the Marquess of Hartington, now Duke of Devonshire. Mr. Childers's son, Spencer,[1] an officer of Royal Engineers, at whose wedding in April, 1883, Sir Andrew and Lady Clarke were present, was gazetted aide-de-camp to the Inspector-General of Fortifications on his return from leave of absence in the following month.

Shortly after Mr. Childers left the War Office, Sir Andrew seems to have been worried as to the effect in his own case of the age clause of the Royal Warrant on Promotion and Retirement. In the following July he would attain the age limit for colonels, fifty-nine years, and he was only a colonel, although holding the temporary rank of major-general. He was also anxious about his wife's health, and he thought once more of

[1] Now Brevet-Colonel E. S. E. Childers, C.B., R.E., the author of the *Life of the Right Hon. Hugh C. E. Childers.*

a colonial governorship. It so happened that the government of Jamaica became vacant about this time, and Lord Derby, Secretary of State for the Colonies, offered it to Sir Andrew Clarke "in the most flattering terms." Sir Andrew then took steps to obtain an authoritative pronouncement as to the operation of the Royal Warrant, and was officially informed that the temporary rank of major-general would save him from retirement until he was sixty-two years old.[1] He therefore decided to remain at the War Office, and declined the government of Jamaica.

The following letter from General Charles Gordon appears to have been written in reply to one from Sir Andrew sent when he was still undecided as to his future :—

From Major-General C. G. Gordon.

"JERUSALEM, 22 *May*, 1883.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"Thank you for your letter, but I was sorry to hear that Lady Clarke does not like London, for where could you possibly go to and hold as good an appointment as you have got, which is virtually independent, and where, from all accounts, you are doing good work? I thought at last that you had found your equilibrium, and would now stay quiet. I hope I shall hear no more about it. You can get abroad every

[1] After his fifty-ninth year had passed and Sir Andrew continued Inspector-General of Fortifications, Mr. Tottenham asked a question on the subject in the House of Commons on the 13th August, 1883, to which the Marquess of Hartington replied that there was a warrant exempting officers holding temporary rank from the operation of the age clause of the Promotion and Retirement Warrant to which the hon. member had referred. Moreover, he said, the Government considered it desirable in the interests of the public service that Sir Andrew Clarke should continue to be their adviser, until further progress had been made with the very important questions in connection with the defences of coaling stations and commercial harbours, to the consideration of which Sir Andrew had already given a great deal of time and labour.

year. As surely as you have the post you are in, you will not get another like it, and I am often a prophet in these things—*vide* Tewfik.

"You ask what I am doing; well, very happy, beautiful climate, country full of deepest interest, and lots of work; no necessity of *wearing a mask*, can live with two horses well on £20 a month, no dreadful long dinner parties, etc., and no efforts needed to square one's ideas with those of others. It may be a selfish life, but I cannot do anything else. . . .

"Yours sincerely,
"C. G. GORDON."

A few days before Christmas, 1883, Sir Andrew, in his official capacity, attended a great function at Chatham. At his invitation Lord Napier of Magdala unveiled the great west window of the nave and the west windows of the nave aisles of Rochester Cathedral. These windows had been filled with stained glass by Messrs. Clayton and Bell, as the Corps memorials of the Royal Engineers who fell in the Afghan and South African campaigns of 1878 to 1881. A large company from London, Aldershot, and other garrisons was present, and all the troops in garrison attended the ceremony. A special service was drawn up by the late Dean Scott, and the R.E. band assisted the cathedral choir and organ. The anthem "The trumpet shall sound" (Handel) was finely rendered, and, after an eloquent address by the late Bishop Thorold, the hymn "Ten thousand times ten thousand" was sung by the whole congregation to the accompaniment of the full band. The effect was most impressive, and an officer who was present wrote to Sir Andrew:—

"It was indeed a splendid climax, and few of those taking part in the service will easily forget the last exulting notes of that strain of joy over the conquest

of sin and death, and the attainment of the victor's reward :—

'Fling open wide the golden gate
And let the victors in.'"

After the ceremony at the cathedral, Sir Andrew and Lady Clarke received the guests at Brompton Barracks, and presided over a luncheon given by the Corps in the Garrison Gymnasium, the only place that could be found to seat so large a gathering.

In the autumn of 1883, public attention in this country had again been forcibly called to Egyptian affairs. The defeat of the Egyptian Army at the battle of Kasghil, in Kordofan, by the Mahdi, in October, when Hicks Pasha was killed and his whole force destroyed, laid the country south of Khartoum at the mercy of Muhammad Ahmed. In England the situation was regarded with some anxiety, as it was recognised that Egypt had not sufficient means, either in money or troops, to put down the Mahdi. Sir Andrew received a letter at this moment suggesting that Major-General C. G. Gordon should be sent to the Soudan with a force from India of two European and four or five native battalions, and that he should advance from Suakin to Berber, 270 miles. Sir Andrew sent this letter to Mr. Childers with the following note :—

To the Rt. Hon. H. C. E. Childers.

"24 *November*, 1883.

"MY DEAR CHANCELLOR,

"I send you the enclosed. . . . I need not say that if England is to intervene, my advice would be to place the whole affair without reserve in Gordon's hands.

"If the Mahdi is a prophet, Gordon in the Soudan is a greater. He will be here in a day or two, as he is *en route* to the Congo. How well I recollect his telling

"

Baring, when we were passing with Lord Ripon through Egypt, that the action of the Cairo Government would lead to grief in the Soudan.

"Yours ever,

"A. CLARKE.

"P.S.—I was gratified to hear Wolseley the other day speak in stronger terms of admiration and respect for Gordon than even I would do."

When Sir Andrew wrote the above, General Gordon was still in Palestine, but was about to return to Europe to conclude arrangements with the King of the Belgians for entering H.M.'s service as head of the Congo State, in fulfilment of an old promise. General Gordon believed that the British Foreign Office had sanctioned his taking this step, but on reaching Brussels he learned that there had been a mistake in their telegram to him, and that the authorities at home declined to allow him to accept the government of the Congo State as long as he was on the active list of the Army. He at once decided to send in his papers, and wrote the following letter to Sir Andrew Clarke :—

From Major-General C. G. Gordon.

"BELLEVUE HOTEL, BRUSSELS,

"4 *January*, 1884.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"I am going to retire, and am going to the Congo on the 5th February. Try and get my step.

"You saw the peasants dragged off in chains to fight the Mahdi ; what could you expect but their defeat? Kindest regards to you and Lady Clarke.

"Yours sincerely,

"C. G. GORDON.

"P.S.—I shall be at Southampton in a few days' time."

On receiving this letter Sir Andrew at once wrote to Sir Edmund Whitmore, the Military Secretary, as follows :—

To Lieutenant-General Sir E. A. Whitmore.

"WHITEHALL, 6 *January*, 1884.

"MY DEAR WHITMORE,

"General C. G. Gordon writes to tell me he has sent in his resignation, and asks me to support its acceptance. Of course I have no voice in the matter one way or the other, but may I be allowed to express a hope that a way may be found to avoid accepting his resignation?

"Yours sincerely,

"A. CLARKE."

General Whitmore replied expressing his regret at General Gordon's resignation, and explaining the clauses of the warrant that rendered it impossible for him to proceed to the Congo, and at the same time retain his commission in the Army.

Sir Andrew was not convinced by this argument, and made the following rejoinder on the 11th January :—

To Lieutenant-General Sir E. A. Whitmore.

"Many thanks for your letter. If my reading of the Warrant be correct, by articles 91 and 107 Gordon *may* retire on pension two years before he *must* retire, should he remain unemployed for five years, *i.e.* after three years as Major-General. This will be in March, 1885, or in fourteen months' time.

"Surely there can be no objection to his being granted leave for fourteen months to go to Africa. Such a course has often been resorted to before. The Government can have no objection to his going to the Congo. Members of the Government who have spoken to me on the subject think this a most natural way out of the dilemma."

Before a final decision had been given General Gordon arrived in England and wrote to Sir Andrew :—

From Major-General C. G. Gordon.

"5, ROCKSTONE PLACE, SOUTHAMPTON,
"12 *January*, 1884.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"Thanks for those letters which I received as I came back from Exeter. The deed was done on 7th January, resigning my commission, so I cannot help it. I also promised the King and I cannot break my word.

"Things are too mixed in the Soudan and Egypt for me to think of it, and you know this well enough. As to Tewfik, I could never serve him, for he would never forgive my letter, so there is an end of that. I say distinctly H.M. Government are quite right and justified in not employing me, so there is an end of that.

"I hope you will get the step. I am hunted to death by correspondents. However, I mean to hide till the 18th, when I will come to town, and if my resignation is accepted I shall go to Brussels on the 25th January. If not I shall go to Capri to be alone and get out of the way. I never read the newspapers and do not know what the *Pall Mall Gazette* said.

"I would not have written it, or said what I did, had I thought H.M. Government had made up their mind, but I did not know it when the Editor of the *Pall Mall* came to me. Our Lord will work out His will, and it is unpatriotic to say any more.

"Kindly excuse me to Mr. Childers. You know I never go out, and with kind regards to Lady Clarke and yourself, "Believe me, yours sincerely,

"C. G. GORDON.

"P.S.—To me there are three courses: (1) evacuate Egypt and keep Canal; (2) annex Egypt; (3) arrange with France, who neutralises all we do. Of this No. 3 is best."

When, three days later, General Gordon visited the War Office he was told his resignation had not been

accepted and that he had permission to go to the Congo.

It is unnecessary to repeat here the story of the Khartoum Mission, or to narrate the circumstances under which General Gordon set out for the Nile instead of the Congo, and left London on the 18th January, 1884, to carry out the evacuation of the Soudan.

The news that General Valentine Baker Pasha's force of 4,000 Egyptian soldiers had been cut to pieces at El Teb, in the Eastern Soudan, by Osman Digna on the 4th February, 1884, following so closely on the disaster to Hicks Pasha, and succeeded a few days later by the fall of Sinkat, induced the British Government to send orders for an expedition from Egypt, under Major-General Sir Gerald Graham, to undertake the defence of Suakin and the relief of Tokar. When these orders had been despatched Sir Andrew Clarke drew up a paper upon the situation, in which he urged the immediate construction of a railway between Suakin and Berber.

This memorandum evinced both courage and diplomacy. Sir Andrew's political friends were in office and were dead against any step that would commit them to a policy of preserving the Soudan provinces to Egypt. Sir Andrew was careful to argue on the supposition that we had no direct but only indirect interests in the Soudan. He dwelt on the impossibility of allowing a strong Muhammadan power to grow up on the south of Egypt and on the western shores of the Red Sea, or a foreign power to establish itself at Khartoum and command the Upper Nile; he pointed out the burden taken by this country in the interests of humanity to put a stop summarily to the slave trade. He showed that the

fate of Egypt could not be arbitrarily divorced from that of the Northern Soudan at least, and that to leave Egypt merely able to govern herself, while the Soudan was either in a state of anarchy or abandoned to adventurers, was to provide no sufficient guarantee for the interests of England, and to make further military operations a certainty at no distant date. He concluded a very able paper in the following words:—

"To satisfy the many conditions of the Egyptian problem, there is but one way, and that way has been clearly pointed out by Lord Dufferin in his famed report, by General Gordon, by Sir Samuel Baker, and by Ismail Pasha. The railway from Suakin to Berber must be made, and it should be made by England, and at once. . . . Telegraph to Gordon that England has decided to hold Suakin for the present and to commence this railway at once. Leave the rest to him, with the new position and power which the mere announcement will carry with it. Suakin held by Marines and Indian troops relieved at short intervals will form a convenient base, furnishing such guards as may at first be necessary along the route. Sappers and pioneers can superintend the construction of the railway. . . . In less than a year the 280 miles of line will be complete, and at any time it will be possible for England to grip the heart of the Soudan. . . ."

No notice was taken at the time of Sir Andrew Clarke's proposals. Even after Sir Gerald Graham had won the battle of Tamai and dispersed Osman Digna's forces, the Government declined to allow him to reach out a hand to Gordon by the Suakin-Berber route, although Sir Evelyn Baring supported that proposal and General Gordon had suggested it. Sir Gerald Graham subsequently wrote that after the battle of Tamai "the road from Suakin to Berber was open for British or Indian troops, and the opportunity for

rescuing Gordon and for saving Berber and Khartoum was actually within England's grasp."

When at length popular sentiment compelled the Government to contemplate some action for the relief of Gordon, two plans were before them: one an expedition up the Nile, supported by Lord Wolseley, then Adjutant-General of the Forces, and Sir Evelyn Wood, commanding the Egyptian Army; the other an expedition by the Suakin-Berber route, advocated by Sir Andrew Clarke, Sir Gerald Graham, and Lieutenant-General (afterwards General Sir) Frederick C. A. Stephenson, commanding the British Army of Occupation in Egypt.

In the middle of May, 1884, it was almost decided that the Suakin-Berber route should be followed, that a railway should be made, and that Sir Andrew should himself proceed to the Eastern Soudan. On the 19th May Sir Andrew submitted his proposals for the railway, and assumed that it was to be begun at once. On the 6th June he submitted detailed proposals for beginning the work, and represented that it was of "vital importance that no time should be lost in taking these preliminary steps, as at least a month of valuable time will be saved."

By the end of July the pendulum swung the other way. Sir Andrew Clarke stuck to his guns, and held out strongly for the Suakin-Berber route, but Lord Wolseley gained the day, and the Nile route was finally decided on in the middle of August. As everybody knows, General Stephenson was superseded, and Lord Wolseley took command of the expedition. Throughout the autumn Sir Andrew continued to urge that a column should be sent from Suakin to Berber, and in the meantime, at his suggestion, the R.E. work

at Suakin, the construction of piers and storehouses and narrow-gauge railways between them, etc., was pushed on. Sir Andrew was very proud of what the officers and men of the Corps accomplished in this fiery furnace in the Red Sea, and the work so done proved invaluable in the following year.

When news arrived in November, 1884, that Gordon could not hold out at Khartoum for more than forty days, Sir Andrew again pressed that an attempt should be made to relieve Khartoum by the Suakin-Berber route, and the following extracts from letters to him from Lieutenant-General Sir Gerald Graham show how thoroughly these two were in agreement:—

From Sir Gerald Graham.

"DEVONSHIRE VILLA, EAST COWES, I. OF W.,
"*12 October*, 1884.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"I am staying here till the end of the month, and am rather out of the way of news. Can you tell me if there is any intention of sending an expedition on the Suakin-Berber line? If this is not done immediately I fear there is little hope of rescuing Gordon. By Power's[1] letter (*Times*, 29th September) his supplies could only last to the end of September, and his action in sending on Stewart[2] while he returned to Khartoum is too much like that of a captain of a sinking ship to be reassuring. . . .

"I am sorely disappointed at being left out of all share in the attempt to rescue Charlie Gordon, and wish I could give up my last promotion, and take out a flying column to Berber organised in the way I sketched in the paper I sent you. I do not believe in the possibility of any force being able to relieve Khartoum by the Nile route before the end of January, if then.

"Sincerely yours,
"GERALD GRAHAM."

[1] Mr. Frank Power, British Consul at Khartoum.
[2] Lieutenant-Colonel Donald Stewart.

From the same.

"WORLABYE HOUSE,
UPPER RICHMOND ROAD, S.W.,
"25 *November*, 1884.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

". . . I firmly believe now that it would not have been necessary to have carried water further than Wadi Haratri, and that had I been given 300 more camels and allowed to go on to Es Gebit, as I proposed, the road to Berber would have been opened, as I would have pushed on to Haratri, found plenty of water between that and Ariab, and then sent on a squadron with Mounted Infantry to Obak, where Gordon's Egyptians would have been waiting for me. . . .

"Sincerely yours,
"GERALD GRAHAM."

It was not, however, until the tragedy was ended, until Khartoum had fallen and Gordon had been killed, that the "too late" Government definitely decided to break the power of the Mahdi, to send an expedition to Suakin to crush Osman Digna, and to make a railway from Suakin to Berber. Sir Gerald Graham was selected to command the expedition and, as Her Majesty the Queen very neatly expressed it at Sir Gerald's farewell audience, to go to Suakin again to do what he could so easily have done in the previous spring.

On Sir Andrew Clarke devolved the arrangements for the railway and the water supply. He was strongly in favour of a metre gauge railway of the Indian pattern, and urged that the work should be carried out by Indian labour under the Indian Public Works Department, by whom he proposed the materials and plant should be supplied. He had, in fact, made preliminary arrangements with this organisation in view,

but Sir Arthur Haliburton (now Lord Haliburton), who was at that time Director of Supplies and Transport at the War Office, was as strongly in favour of doing the work by contract. The Indian Government was not too anxious to undertake the task, as it would interfere with railway work in hand in India, and so, in the face of the opposition of the Inspector-General of Fortifications and of the General commanding the expedition, it was decided to go to contract. A contract was entered into with Messrs. Lucas and Aird to construct the railway of English narrow gauge, the sole control and superintendence being under the General commanding the expedition, Sir Gerald Graham.

The 10th Company of Royal Engineers, one of Sir Andrew's railway companies, went to Suakin, and with it Sir Andrew sent some forty men from the Newcastle and Durham and 1st Lancashire Engineer Volunteers, whose trades were all suitable for railway work. Large condensers were shipped, and miles of water-pipes to run alongside the railway, and a contract entered into with Messrs. Edwards and Tweedle to lay the water-pipes and provide all the pumps, engines, tanks, etc.

But although Osman Digna was crushed and Sir Gerald Graham[1] again victorious, the expedition and the railway came to a sudden and untimely end. The anticipation of a possible war with Russia over the Penjdeh incident caused the cessation of all offensive operations and the withdrawal of the troops both from

[1] In commemoration of these victories, Sir Andrew Clarke was appointed chairman of a committee to obtain a portrait of Sir Gerald Graham to be hung in the Chatham mess. The portrait was painted by Sir E. J. Poynter, P.R.A., was exhibited at the Royal Academy Show, and is now at Chatham.

the Nile and the Eastern Soudan. Sir Andrew's dream of a Suakin-Berber railway remained for twenty years unaccomplished, and has only recently been revived.

During the autumn of 1884, while the Nile Expedition was dragging its weary way past the Cataracts, and the silence of Khartoum sat like a nightmare on the people at home, the state of affairs at the other end of Africa gave cause for uneasiness. A Convention had been arranged with the Transvaal Government in the early part of the year by which the frontier boundary lines on the west of the Transvaal were settled; but the Boers paid no heed to the terms of the Convention, and raiding freebooters, supported by the Transvaal Government, plundered and cruelly oppressed the natives of Goshenland. Sir Andrew drew up a memorandum on the situation for the Government, and made specific recommendations which may be briefly summarised as follows:—

"The acquisition of Bechuanaland up to the Molopo, either by concessions from the native chiefs or by annexation, in order to give us a legal status.

"The issue of a clear declaration of policy by H.M. Government, setting forth the illegal position occupied by the freebooters with respect to the Convention of 1884.

"The issue of a proclamation that all claims to land outside the western frontier of the Transvaal as fixed by the Convention were null and void; that the personal property of all persons who had seized land beyond this frontier would be confiscated after a fixed date; and that all resistance after annexation would be treated as rebellion.

"Instant preparation to carry out the proclamation by an irregular force operating from Griqualand West, and supported by an infantry regiment stationed on the Hartz River, beyond the northern portion of

Griqualand. The whole operation to be entrusted to an imperial officer of proved experience."

The Government decided to appoint a Special Commissioner with a sufficient force at his disposal to enable him to remove the filibusters from Bechuanaland, to restore order in the territory, to reinstate the natives on their lands, and to hold the country until its future was decided. On Sir Andrew's recommendation Sir Charles Warren, who had an intimate knowledge of the people and the country, was selected to be the Special Commissioner and given the command of a force of 5,000 men, especially raised and equipped locally, which was supplemented by regular troops from home and Methuen's Horse.

At a farewell dinner given to Sir Charles Warren on the 5th November by the London Chamber of Commerce, Sir Andrew Clarke said :—

"At the beginning of the year, when dark clouds were rising on the N.W. frontier of our South African colonies, I suggested to Lord Derby and urged upon Sir Hercules Robinson the employment of Sir Charles Warren for the removal of those difficulties. More recently still, when General Gordon was first considered to be needing help, I advised that Sir Charles Warren should be permitted to exercise the influence he had acquired over the wild Bedouins of the Libyan desert in organising and leading friendly Nubian levies to the relief of Khartoum. I confidently believe that had my advice been followed the country would, at the present moment, have been free from anxiety for the safety of my brother officer, Charlie Gordon. Now that my recommendation with regard to the appointment of Sir Charles Warren to settle the South African troubles has been accepted, I feel sure that under his able management, both as an administrator and soldier, the clouds now hanging over our South African frontier will be dispersed."

At another City dinner in the following May (1885) Sir Andrew referred in warm terms to the masterly manner in which Sir Charles Warren and his force, by the rapidity of their movements and the skill with which they had carried everything before them, had accomplished their mission in South Africa. "That force," he said, "composed mainly of volunteers raised chiefly on the spot, ruled by a hand of steel covered with velvet, was at that moment, according to accounts he had received, in the highest state of health and discipline. Sir Charles Warren had proved himself not only a good and skilled soldier, but also an enlightened and broad-minded statesman, and it was due as much to these latter qualities as to those of a soldier that he had carried our flag to honour, and he hoped restored the prestige which we had, perhaps, for a moment lost in South Africa."

Sir Andrew did his best to obtain the issue of a medal for the force that had achieved this admirably executed but bloodless campaign, but the absence of a butcher's bill seemed to the authorities an insuperable objection.

When Sir Andrew Clarke left Chatham in 1882 he took up his residence in Portland Place, occupying, first of all, No. 52, and moving successively to 42 and finally to 31, where he died. It so happened that his namesake, the celebrated physician, Sir Andrew Clark, lived hard by in Cavendish Square, and the similarity of names sometimes led to confusion. Letters and telegrams intended for the one went to the other. On one occasion an important cypher message for the General from the Victorian Government was delivered to the Doctor in Cavendish Square, and the mistake gave the

Doctor an opportunity of writing the following playful little note of regret:—

From Sir Andrew Clark.

"16, CAVENDISH SQUARE, W.,
"*Saturday, 7 February*, 1885.

"DEAR SIR ANDREW CLARKE,

"I am very sorry to be the cause of so much inconvenience to you, but I can't yet wholly efface myself and go away. The only solution of the difficulty is that you should be sent into the House of Peers under the coming new régime. The telegram is not for me. I have no cypher correspondent anywhere.

"Faithfully yours,
"ANDREW CLARK."

In 1885 the Maharaja of Johore, with whom Sir Andrew had maintained a friendship since their first acquaintance at Singapore, visited England. At a dinner given in his honour on the 17th June by the merchants of the Straits Settlements in London, Sir Andrew was a guest, and his health was proposed by Mr. Paul Tidman, who referred to his administration of the government of the Straits Settlements in 1874–6 as the "brightest memory of the colony."

In returning thanks Sir Andrew attributed any success he had achieved at Singapore to the assistance given to him by the English residents, and in a still more marked degree to the invaluable advice and uniform support he had received from the Maharaja, "a friend," he said, "of whom any man might be proud." He went on to say that if those who were acquainted with the Maharaja only by name as an Eastern prince could see, as he had seen, the fruit of the Maharaja's good government in the opening up of the Malay Peninsula, and the peace and contentment of his

people, they would understand the enthusiasm with which he had been received that evening.

On the 16th July, 1885, Sir Andrew went down to Chatham, and presided at a banquet given by the Corps to Colonel (now Major-General) Sir Charles Wilson and the R.E. officers who had recently returned from active service in Egypt. In proposing the toast of Sir Charles Wilson, Sir Andrew quoted the high praise of his conduct under most difficult and trying circumstances by H.R.H. the Colonel of the Corps. He then pointed out that when General Wilson started with the column across the desert from Korti to Metammeh on a forlorn hope, he was neither the second nor yet the third senior officer present, and yet he suddenly and unexpectedly found himself in command. Sir Andrew impressed upon his brother officers, especially the younger ones present, never to lose sight of the fact that they might at any time be called to command, and to seize every opportunity of preparing themselves for it.

The occasional connection of Sir Andrew Clarke with the colony of Victoria in an official capacity as Acting Agent-General has been referred to in previous chapters. He had held this position at various times, and on the 31st March, 1886, he again received permission from the Commander-in-Chief to act as Agent-General on the retirement of Mr. Murray Smith and pending the arrival in this country of his successor. During the short time that intervened Sir Andrew was occupied with a very burning question — that of the New Hebrides.

Australian opinion insisted that these islands, declared part of New Zealand by the Charter of 1840, should never be allowed to become exclusively French.

During the years 1884 and 1885 the question assumed increased significance from the adoption of measures by France which showed an intention to annex the islands. The outburst of colonial feeling became volcanic in its violence, and checked any tendency on the part of the Foreign Office to come to terms with France on the basis of her acquisition of the New Hebrides, even though she undertook to discontinue the transportation of criminals to any part of the Pacific.

While Sir Andrew was Acting Agent-General he had to reply to a letter from the Colonial Office in which the cession of the New Hebrides to France was again broached. In accordance with instructions he received from the Committee of Ministers of the Federal Council of Australasia, Sir Andrew referred the Government to the previous telegram from Australia objecting to the cession on the terms proposed. He then pointed out that the Australian Ministers spoke in their own full sense of the powers conveyed to them by the "Act to constitute a Federal Council of Australasia," which distinctly referred for the consideration of the Council "the relations of Australia with the islands of the Pacific." This, he said, did not appear to be fully realised by statesmen in this country, and the contemplation of any cession of the New Hebrides to the French Republic after the unanimous expression of the Federal Council's opinion would be a contravention of the spirit and terms of the Act. In a long and able letter, dated 30th April, Sir Andrew reviewed the whole question. He showed that Australia was not unreasonable; that to compromise the matter assumed rights on the part of France that she did not possess; that she had no better rights than England; and that the suggested compromise, by which France would

promise to send no more convicts to the Pacific and would cede Rapa to England, was of no value in comparison with the New Hebrides. Transportation to the Pacific, in any case, must soon cease, because New Caledonia could not receive many more convicts.

Not content with writing this letter, Sir Andrew saw both Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Sir James Carmichael, with the object of getting them to impress on the Prime Minister the depth of colonial feeling on the subject. When news came early in May that the French were sending a man-of-war on account of some alleged outrage at Espiritu Santo Island, Sir Andrew recommended that a squadron should be sent from the Australian station to look after British interests and to guard the natives under the protection of our missionaries. This measure was taken, and did more to convince the French Government that we were in earnest than reams of despatches.

The result of Sir Andrew's efforts appeared in Lord Rosebery's despatch of the 7th July, in which it was stated that H.M.'s Government must be mainly guided in this matter by the opinion of the Australian colonies, and that as this opinion was strongly opposed to any other arrangement than the existing agreement to respect the independence of the New Hebrides, H.M.'s Government were unable to acquiesce in any departure from it.

Sir Andrew's action in the matter was highly appreciated in Australia. The Victorian Premier, Mr. S. Duncan Gillies, wrote on the 25th June, 1886:—

From the Hon. S. Duncan Gillies.

"I take the opportunity of conveying to you the cordial thanks of the Government for the eminently satisfactory manner in which you represented the colony when Acting Agent-General during the interval

between Mr. Murray Smith's departure and the arrival of the Hon. Graham Berry. I have more especially to express the high sense entertained by myself and colleagues, and I am sure by the community generally, of the promptitude and vigour with which you pressed upon the attention of the Imperial authorities the views of these communities with regard to the recent action of France in the New Hebrides. I feel that the representations which you made not only to the Secretary of State, but to the Prime Minister personally, on the subject carried great weight at a critical juncture, and the Australasian colonies as well as you yourself are to be congratulated upon the large measure of success which attended your able advocacy."[1]

On the 19th June, 1886, Sir Andrew Clarke received official intimation that his retirement with the honorary rank of Lieutenant-General would be gazetted on the 27th July, when he attained the age of sixty-two years. But his retirement from office was precipitated by his standing as a candidate for the parliamentary representation of Chatham, and he resigned the post of Inspector-General of Fortifications on the 25th June, 1886.

On his retirement Sir Andrew was invited by Colonel Edwards,[2] Commandant of the School of Military Engineering at Chatham, to a farewell dinner, and in sending him the invitation Colonel Edwards proposed to put him up for the night and "go and see your fort the next morning." This was an allusion to the Twydall Redoubt, a new type of semi-permanent fortification which had been designed in the office of the

[1] In an unofficial letter to Sir Andrew, Mr. Gillies alludes to the "interesting proceedings in search of a British Minister who wished to keep the New Hebrides," of which Sir Andrew had told him. Sir Andrew used to tell a story of an interview he had at this time with Lord Rosebery, who thought he took too warm a view of the question, and begged him to be calm.

[2] Now Lieutenant-General Sir J. Bevan Edwards, K.C.M.G., C.B.

SIR ANDREW CLARKE IN HIS OFFICE AT THE HORSE GUARDS

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Inspector-General of Fortifications after a good deal of discussion, and will be always associated with the name of Sir Andrew Clarke.

The four years that Sir Andrew spent at the War Office were years of good work. He was a first-rate chief of an important office, and he loved the Corps of which he was the head, and always had its honour and success at heart.

In his office he was the most accessible of men, and although occasionally hasty was full of good humour and kindness. The following story is not only amusing, it is also true:—

Several officers of his staff were gathered together in the aide-de-camp's room, waiting their turns for an interview with Sir Andrew, who was engaged in his own room adjoining. Presently the bell of the telephone in the aide-de-camp's room, which connected the office of the Secretary of State for War in Pall Mall with that of the Inspector-General of Fortifications at the Horse Guards, began to ring. Sir Andrew was informed, and came to the instrument in the aide-de-camp's room. Whether it was that there was some defect in the telephone or that the officers were talking too loudly, Sir Andrew could not make out what the Secretary of State was saying to him, and, without turning round, he called out, "D—— you, can't you be quiet?" He had forgotten he was speaking into the telephone, and was surprised to find that the Secretary of State had left the instrument. Later in the day he met the Private Secretary, who was very inquisitive as to some unparliamentary language that had astonished his chief that afternoon. No one enjoyed the joke more than the unconscious perpetrator.

CHAPTER XIII

AFTER RETIREMENT

1886–1895

AS soon as Sir Andrew Clarke satisfied himself that the Royal Warrant would be strictly enforced in his case, and that he would be retired by the age clause in the summer of 1886 without completing the usual five years' tenure of his appointment, his thoughts turned once more to a political life. As far back as 1868, it will be remembered, he had thought of standing for Chester, and again in 1883 he had been urged to stand for Chatham by the Liberal whip, Lord Richard Grosvenor, but as he could not do so without resigning his appointment at the War Office, he replied to Lord Richard that he must "abandon for a time trying for the Chatham seat." That time was now on the point of expiring, and he was ready to court the Chatham electorate.

It was a curious coincidence that just at the moment when he was about to retire from the active list of his profession, an opportunity occurred of appealing to the Chatham electorate for their suffrages. On the 7th June, 1886, Mr. Gladstone was defeated in the House of Commons on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill, Parliament was dissolved, and a general election took place. Sir Andrew had no time to lose. His retirement was not to take place until the 27th July,

when he became sixty-two years old, and he had therefore to resign his appointment as Inspector-General of Fortifications some five weeks before his time was up, and go on half-pay. He issued his election address on the 22nd June, and entered the lists as a follower of Mr. Gladstone and an ardent Home Ruler. There were only twelve days before the polling day in which to win the constituency from the old member, Sir John Gorst. Not even a telegram[1] from Mr. Gladstone was of much avail. Chatham was opposed to Home Rule, and remained faithful to Sir John Gorst, who was returned with practically his old majority.

From 1886 until the summer of 1892 Sir Andrew Clarke sedulously nursed the borough, and at the general election of 1892 he had greatly improved his position.[2] He had become well known to the constituency, and his advocacy of the rights of labour, his support of the eight hours movement, and his argument that the State should show itself a model employer of labour, all made him popular in a dockyard constituency. Then his chance of success at the poll had been increased by Sir John Gorst leaving Chatham to stand for Cambridge University, and his opponent being a new man. Again, however, Sir Andrew sustained a defeat, although he had the satisfaction of reducing the Conservative majority by one-half. He then decided to give up his intention of entering

[1] The telegram was as follows: "Familiar as I have been officially with your high distinction as the wise and able head of a most important military department, I rejoice in the prospect of your entering Parliament, where you will not, like your opponent, run down Lord Spencer for his brave and manly government of Ireland, nor yet will you withhold from a struggling nation its reasonable and safe demands.

"GLADSTONE."

[2] In October, 1888, Sir Andrew Clarke was elected a member of the Eighty Club.

Parliament, and formally announced his retirement as a candidate for Chatham. In 1895 he was offered a safe seat for an Irish constituency, but he felt he was then too old to begin a parliamentary career.

A few days after the general election at Chatham in 1886 Sir Andrew received an intimation that the Corporation of the city of Liverpool had decided to confer the honorary freedom of their city upon him, in recognition of the eminent services he had rendered to the city in connection with the Vyrnwy Waterworks. In the spring of the year the stability of the dam at Vyrnwy had been challenged, and Sir Andrew was called in to advise the Corporation. He went down especially to examine and report upon it. He took with him General Fife (constructor of the Poona dam) and Majors T. English and G. S. Clarke, with the result that after a very careful examination he was able to report that "nothing short of an earthquake could disturb the dam." The ceremony of conferring the honorary distinction of the franchise of Liverpool on Sir Andrew took place at a special meeting of the City Council, on the 5th January, 1887, when the illuminated copy of the resolution conferring the freedom of the city, enclosed in a silver casket, was presented to him,[1] accompanied by an ornamental dessert service and a gift of a diamond bracelet for Lady Clarke.

At the annual meeting of the Cabdrivers' Benevolent Association, on 28th April, 1887, Sir Andrew presided for the first time. Both he and Lady Clarke were fond of animals, and never allowed the bearing-rein to be used with their horses. Sir Andrew had long taken an

[1] Sir Andrew Clarke was the first recipient of the honorary freedom of the city of Liverpool under the Honorary Freedom of Boroughs Act, 1885.

active interest in the cabdrivers, and in the course of his remarks he said:—

"When Mr. G. Stormont Murphy, your honorary secretary, asked me to preside at this meeting I was somewhat surprised, and inquired, 'Why do you come to me?' and was answered, 'Because you are one of the oldest supporters of the Institution!' I felt then I must comply with the request. It gives me unqualified pleasure to be present, for I entertain a very favourable opinion of the cabdriver, having had reason to know how honest they are. I will tell you an incident which occurred many years ago.

"I managed to lose a sovereign through putting it by mistake into the wrong pocket. I never carry a purse, for you know that if you lose your purse you are left entirely without money for the time being. I therefore make a rule to put gold in one pocket and silver in another. I alighted from a cab at a railway station and gave the cabman what I believed to be three shillings—his fare was half-a-crown. I was bound for Colchester, and on arriving there discovered that I had a sovereign—or rather nineteen shillings—less than I ought to have had, and after cogitating a little I decided that I had given the cabman who brought me to the station a sovereign instead of a shilling. Of course, I at once mentally wrote it off as a loss. About three months afterwards I was walking along Pall Mall, having just come out of my club, when a cabman looked very hard at me, and thinking he wanted a 'fare,' and not requiring a cab just then, I rather avoided him, and looked another way—you know how one looks when desirous of evading the eye of a cabman—but my friend the cabman would not be evaded, and he acted, as I thought, in a very extraordinary manner. He got off his driving-box, and having taken a sovereign out of his mouth, said, 'You are the gentleman I have been looking for for the last three months. Here is the sovereign you gave me in mistake.' Of course I told him I had written it off my books as a loss, and therefore could not think of altering them. That driver's name was James Hutton, and when last I heard of him he was the owner of many

horses and cabs somewhere in the middle of my old colony, Victoria."

It was in this same year, 1887, that three gentlemen[1] of Singapore, interested in the various uses to which the metal aluminium could be put, proposed to Sir Andrew that his bust should be modelled by a good sculptor, cast in aluminium bronze, and then sent to the Melbourne Exhibition of 1888, after which they proposed to present it to the Chamber of Commerce of Singapore as a memorial of Sir Andrew's government of the colony. Sir Andrew agreed, and the late Mr. Edward Onslow Ford, R.A., was commissioned to execute the bust in colossal size. It was cast in Webster's aluminium bronze, and it now adorns the building in which both the Club and the Chamber of Commerce are accommodated at Singapore.

About the same time Mr. Onslow Ford was commissioned to model a life-size bust of Sir Andrew by a number of Sir Andrew's friends and brother officers of the Royal Engineers. It was an excellent likeness, and the bronze cast was presented to the R.E. mess at Chatham.

In the autumn of 1887, at the invitation of Lieutenant-Colonel Rigby, Sir Andrew presided for the third time in succession at the annual distribution of prizes to the 1st Liverpool Volunteer Engineers. As a retired officer Sir Andrew was able to speak with a freedom which he could not have used on the previous occasions on which he had addressed them. After saying how proud he felt to be able to speak to them as a freeman of Liverpool, he told them he regarded the continual improve-

[1] Messrs. James Guthrie, William Mactaggart, and Paul T. Tidman, all now dead.

BRONZE BUST OF SIR ANDREW CLARKE (NOW AT SINGAPORE)
BY MR. E. ONSLOW FORD, R.A.

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ment of the Volunteer force of England, as a matter requiring the most serious and anxious attention of the Government, that any reorganisation of the force must be in the direction of its affiliation with a national army. He mentioned how he had himself been able in his four years at the War Office to bring Volunteer Engineers into closer connection with the Engineers of the regular Army, and he said he should like to see that system extended to the Volunteer Artillery and Volunteer Infantry also. He thought facilities should be given to Volunteer officers to perfect themselves in their training, and that there should be colleges for the instruction of non-commissioned officers in their profession. He was glad, he said, to think that Volunteers could become efficient soldiers, ready to take the field, while at the same time they earned their own living at their own work, and that Englishmen were able to show that conscription and forced military labour were unnecessary.

On his retirement from the service Sir Andrew devoted some of his energies to the furtherance of various commercial enterprises. He joined the Boards of Direction of the Palmer's Shipbuilding Company at Jarrow-on-Tyne, the Colonial Mutual Life Assurance Society, the Maxim-Nordenfeldt Gun Company, and was Chairman of the Delhi-Umballa Railway Company, which owed much to his wise rule and personal knowledge of Indian railways. He was particularly helpful at the time it secured the extension to Kalka, which he believed would become, in course of time, the trunk line into Tibet. He was also a Director of the British North Borneo Company, and to commemorate his valuable services on the Board a province of British North Borneo was named Clarke Province after Sir Andrew.

Sir Andrew was much interested in the development of Siam, and, at the end of 1887 he undertook to visit that kingdom on behalf of a railway enterprise, and to arrange preliminaries with the Siamese Government for surveys for the line. On arriving at Singapore he received from the residents a hearty welcome "back to the regions where your name is still a household word." The Maharaja of Johore, whose title had recently been altered to "Sultan," wrote:—

From the Sultan of Johore.

"I cannot tell you how pleased I am at the idea of seeing you again, especially out here, where I least expected to meet you. I have a double object in availing myself of this opportunity to write to you: first, to be one of the first to welcome you; and second, to ask if you will tiffin with me at the club to-morrow, the day of your arrival here."

Sir Andrew could not at that time loiter in Singapore, and pursued his voyage to Bangkok, which he reached on the 14th January, 1888, and the next day he received a letter of welcome from the King:—

From H.M. the King of Siam.

"GRAND PALACE,

"15 *January*, 1888.

"MY DEAR SIR ANDREW,

"I am glad to receive the announcement of your arrival in Siam from you directly, but I am sorry to say that your note reached me very late, so I have not been able to send my welcome to you earlier. I do indeed reciprocate the hope of meeting you again after the long interval of thirteen years. . . . I shall be very glad to receive you to-morrow afternoon at five o'clock, when we can realise the pleasure of our meeting. Believe me, "Yours faithfully,

"CHULALONKORN R."

Princes Devawongse and Damrong also sent him a cordial welcome. At the interview with the King, His Majesty declared himself strongly in favour of railways, but expressed some apprehension as to the consequences of entrusting the work to English companies. The King asked Sir Andrew if he would himself undertake the task of railway construction in the kingdom as head of a Siamese railway department. This Sir Andrew was unable to do, although many years afterwards he used to say he regretted that he had not accepted the offer of the King. After a two months' stay in Siam Sir Andrew obtained a decree giving his nominee, Messrs. Punchard and Co., the right of carrying out railway surveys in Siam and permission to begin work at once.

On Sir Andrew's return to Singapore he was entertained at a complimentary dinner at the Club by a large number of old friends, among whom were the Sultan of Johore, Sir T. Sidgreaves (chairman), Colonel Dunlop, Mr. Pickering, and Messrs. Whampoa and Kim Ching. In replying to the toast of his health, he referred to his administration of the government fourteen years before, when he received invaluable assistance from many there present, and alluded in feeling terms to Mr. Birch, who was murdered, and Captain Innes, R.E., who met a soldier's death. He expressed his pleasure at the flourishing condition of Selangor, from which he had just returned, and bid them go on gaining the goodwill of the natives in their business relations, and then they need have no fear of the prosperity of the Native States. He also referred to the defences, complimenting Majors Jekyll and MacCallum, R.E., on their share in these works, and the colonists on being the first to find the money for defence out

of their own pocket. Finally he alluded to his visit to the Monarch of the White Elephant, which, he said, had not been without success, and if the system of railways was carried out on honourable principles and not on mere concessions, the best results would be secured, a great route to China would be opened up, and the trade of the south-west provinces developed.

On the day after the banquet Sir Andrew was driven over to Johore, where he was the guest of the Sultan at the Istana, and shortly after he returned to England. He had not been long at home again when a serious fire occurred at his house in Portland Place, and both he and his family were in some danger. Fortunately they escaped safely, but lost many valuable souvenirs, which were destroyed in the fire.

Sir Andrew Clarke was a frequent contributor to the *Times* and other daily papers, and in the month of May following his return from Siam he was moved to express himself rather strongly in a letter to the *Times* in criticism of our military administration. His letter drew from Lord Wolseley the following sympathetic letter:—

From Lord Wolseley.

"129, MARINE PARADE,
"19 *May*, 1888.

"DEAR CLARKE,

"I have read your letter in the *Times* with the most intense satisfaction. Although you don't agree with me in the danger of invasion, I entirely agree with you in your views as to the sweeping reforms required in our system of military administration. I am afraid, however, we shall never secure what is necessary until the nation has realised that England is, and will be for some years, open to invasion if any disaster should ever occur to our fleet. I did not know you had returned. I am glad you have, for as one outside the War Office, and aware of what goes on inside that building, you

can do a great deal to press forward the need there is for a thorough investigation of what the objects are for which we keep up both an Army and a Navy.

"Very truly yours,
"WOLSELEY."

In February, 1889, Sir Andrew again wrote to the *Times*, and on this occasion his subject was Naval Supremacy. His reference to army corps in the following extract might have been written the other day in allusion to Mr. Brodrick's scheme:—

". . . The first condition of national existence is naval supremacy. Germanised army corps are the mere luxuries of military ambition, and their possession is perfectly compatible with the utter disorganisation of the great force which ought to be made available for home defence. We can begin to discuss these army corps when the question of the Navy is settled.

"Instead of preaching impossible conscription and idly seeking to defend the greatest city of the world by cheap expedients, let us sink party spirit, departmental prejudices, even personal aims, in one great effort to create and maintain such a navy as will alone enable us calmly to face the unknown future, and to bear ourselves once more with dignity in the councils of Europe."

Because Sir Andrew Clarke was anxious for a powerful navy he was ever a candid critic of its shortcomings. After the naval manœuvres in the summer of 1889, there appeared in the *Times* of the 17th September a scathing criticism from his pen of the doings of the Achill Fleet, in which he ridiculed the vast amount of British shipping claimed to have been destroyed, the towns bombarded, the ransoms exacted, the docks with the shipping in them destroyed. He pointed out that this sort of thing was to make an absurdity of the manœuvres.

"If these things are practicable, the military spirit of the nation," he said, "must indeed be dead. Wick, Aberdeen, Peterhead, Edinburgh, Leith, Seaham, Shields, Hartlepool, Whitby are all popularly supposed to be in ashes or to have meekly paid their ransoms. The great establishment at Elswick has ceased to exist, having been totally destroyed by one or two shells, fired at a range of about eight miles, on a compass bearing. All this is simply ludicrous. . . . If the proceedings of the *Anson* and *Collingwood* result in the protection of the great mercantile ports, the gross exaggeration of the object lesson may well be pardoned. . . . Moderate coast defences, properly equipped and organised for war, are a necessary part of the national armour, but by the Navy the empire must stand or fall."

When the Barracks Loan was proposed in 1890 Sir Andrew strongly opposed it, circulating, at his own expense, a pamphlet in which he marshalled at length his objections to the system of which barrack life forms an essential part. While admitting that the aggregation of large numbers of troops at Aldershot and other camps of exercise was necessary for the training of all ranks, he thought such aggregations need only be for the summer months. He agreed that under certain circumstances barracks were a necessary evil, but he thought these circumstances existed only in a modified form in connection with the training and discipline of troops in the United Kingdom. At home he considered the discipline of the barrack-yard artificial and hurtful, that it could bear no strain, and would collapse when coercion ceased, and that a higher discipline, that of the family and civil life, of the factories and workshops, springing from reason, self-denial, and self-reliance, was wanted. Such discipline, he contended, was of natural growth, and

developed as the permanent and lasting attribute of the man whose character it elevated. Holding these views, he wished to dispense with the barrack system as much as possible, and to resist the proposed extension on the ground of principle as well as of waste of money. Until some definite policy of Imperial Defence was declared, he argued that no case existed for a great development of the barrack system; and further, that if such a policy were laid down in accordance with our real needs, it would be found that the extension of the barrack system was not merely wasteful, but baneful to the interests of the country.

In May, 1890, Sir Andrew attended the unveiling of the statue of General Gordon, in front of the R.E. Institute at Chatham. As he had a good deal to say to the origin of this statue, we must go back some five years to the time when Sir Andrew was Inspector-General of Fortifications.

In the year that General Gordon was killed at Khartoum a committee was formed to carry out Corps memorials of him, and Sir Andrew presided over this committee *ex officio* until he retired. After he ceased to be chairman, he continued to be an active member of the committee, regularly attending all its meetings, and taking the greatest interest in the progress of the various memorials. The chief memorial, it was decided by the committee, should be a statue at Chatham, and, on the suggestion of Sir Andrew, the late Mr. Edward Onslow Ford, R.A., who had been so successful with the bust of Sir Andrew, was selected as the sculptor. Never was a committee more fortunate in its choice of an artist. He threw himself into the work *con amore*, and thought of nothing but getting as near as possible to his ideal.

After making some sketch models of Gordon in British uniform of the conventional type, Mr. Ford had an inspiration. This was to seat General Gordon, dressed as Governor-General of the Soudan and Field-Marshal in the Egyptian Service, on a camel, and to depict him in the act of overawing Suleiman and the Arab slave dealers by his sudden and solitary appearance at Shaka and by the personality of his commanding presence. There was some hesitation on the part of the committee at this bold proposal and departure from conventionality. Some thought the camel would draw attention from the man, others that there was no precedent for a camel statue, but, backed by the support of Sir Andrew Clarke and an enthusiastic secretary, Mr. Onslow Ford's brilliant idea prevailed. Opposers and hesitators gave way, and the beautiful bronze statue of Gordon on the camel was the result. There were other memorials carried out by Sir Andrew's committee: the bronze medallion in Westminster Abbey,[1] the bronze busts in the R.E. mess at Chatham and the R.A. mess at Woolwich, and the silver shield[2] for Miss Gordon, all the work of Mr. Onslow Ford.

It was as a member of this committee that Sir Andrew went down to Chatham on the 19th May, 1890, to see H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, now H.M. the

[1] The medallion, with Gordon's head in high relief, is at the west end of the north aisle of the Abbey, over the belfry doorway, and adjoining the memorials of two other officers of Royal Engineers, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Richard Fletcher, Bart., and Major James Rennell.

[2] The silver shield presented by the Corps of Royal Engineers to Miss Gordon as a memorial of their affection for her brother is a beautiful work of art. St. Michael and the Dragon are represented in high relief in an oval centre, surrounded by cherubs, and with groups at top and bottom representing Love and Faith. A bronze replica, the only one, was exhibited at the Royal Academy.

King, unveil the statue. There was a brilliant assembly, and the Prince, accompanied by H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, Colonel of the Corps and Commander-in-Chief, and attended by the Right Hon. Edward Stanhope, Secretary of State for War, and the Head-quarters Staff of the Army, was received by the committee, who presented H.R. Highness with an address. The Prince then unveiled the statue, the R.E. band playing Gordon's favourite hymn. Miss Gordon, the sister to whom General Gordon was so much attached, and Mr. Onslow Ford were presented to the Prince, who was afterwards entertained at luncheon at the mess.

In December, 1891, Sir Andrew Clarke was again called upon to act as Agent-General for Victoria. He occupied the post for four months, and before leaving it drew up a paper, dated 31st March, 1892, for the benefit of the Australian colonies, entitled "Suggestions for an Improvement in the Means of Dealing with Questions of National Defence." In this paper Sir Andrew gave much sensible advice, and strongly recommended that the agents-general of self-governing colonies should be placed in communication with the Colonial Defence Committee, and enabled to attend its meetings whenever they wished to bring forward any question on which advice was desired. The Government of Victoria considered that the memorandum would "very much strengthen the hands of the individual governments in dealing with the matter of combined Australian defence."

In November, 1892, Sir Andrew once more occupied the same post, and on this occasion he remained the representative of the colony in London until the end of April, 1894. The period was a particu-

larly trying one, owing to the financial crisis in Victoria and also in New South Wales, and a number of Australian banks were compelled to suspend payment. At the time of panic in 1893 Sir Andrew was untiring in his efforts to uphold Australian credit, and he went so far as to invoke, on his own responsibility, the intervention of the Imperial Government. That Government was unable to comply with his request, for the reasons given in the following letter, dated 20th April, 1894, from Sir Andrew Clarke to Sir James Patterson, then Premier of Victoria. The delay in communicating to the colony the substance of the negotiations with the Home Government was due to Lord Ripon's desire that, in the interest of the Australian colonies, nothing should be said at the time of the matter having been in any way under the consideration of H.M.'s Government.

To Sir James Patterson.

"The time has now arrived when I can with propriety give you the details of a proposition I submitted in May last year to Her Majesty's advisers in this country and of the manner in which it was received. The position, you will remember, was one of unparallelled financial difficulty. Week by week we had to arrange for drafts that would be dishonoured, as bank after bank went, and though my statement in the enclosed letter to Lord Ripon that we had arranged in six cases was absolutely true, it had almost been falsified a little later by the indisposition of one of the English judges to ratify the arrangements made with one or two of the banks. It was therefore matter of daily and urgent anxiety to me to place the payment of our interest beyond doubt.

"At the time I first entertained the idea of asking Her Majesty's Government to guarantee us, the Cape had not made its spirited though carefully guarded

offer.[1] Still it seemed to me that the case was one in which the Government of a great country might make its own precedent. I strengthened myself with the favourable opinion of Mr. Childers before I took action, and he was so kind as to sound Lord Ripon on the subject unofficially.

"The guarded reply of Lord Ripon to my letter, though it shows that the matter received the very earnest consideration of the Imperial Cabinet, scarcely does justice to the amount of support which my proposition received. I have reason to know that the Colonial Office adopted it cordially and that the Premier was willing to concur if a sub-committee of his colleagues advised it. Two reasons were, however, after much discussion, considered to be decisive against Imperial intervention. One was that ministers shrank from giving a guarantee, which might be urged as a precedent in more ambiguous cases. Then, again, it was understood that the Bank of England had given private assurances of support to the three banks still standing, and it was concluded accordingly that the danger was already passed. I have thought it right at this distance of time to let you know of an important act that I took on my own initiative and that was, I hope, justified by the crisis."

In connection with this financial crisis, the Victorian Board of Advice passed a minute on 30th April, 1894,

[1] On 23rd May Sir Charles Mills, Agent-General for the Cape, sent Sir Andrew Clarke and his colleague, Sir Saul Samuel, Agent-General for New South Wales, the following telegram that he had received from his Government:—

"The Government here have the deepest sympathies with the Australian colonies in their present financial distress, while at the same time we have the fullest confidence in their stability. Being animated by these sentiments, it is our wish that you should put yourself in communication with the agents-general and ascertain whether, in their opinion, it would help to restore public confidence if this Government invest in the securities of those two colonies, either in the open market or in an unissued loan, whichever would be of most service."

Sir Andrew conveyed the cordial acknowledgments of his Government for this "generous and considerate offer," which he did not, however, think it advisable to accept. This action was endorsed by the Victorian Government, which renewed its representative's thanks.

recording "their sense of the eminent ability which Sir Andrew Clarke has shown in discharging the functions of Agent-General for Victoria during times of unprecedented difficulty, and also of his unfailing courtesy towards them individually." Mr. Gillies, who had become Agent-General for Victoria, in a letter covering this communication, wrote: "Although you have troops of friends, this record will no doubt be very agreeable to you."

A correspondence took place in 1894–5 between Sir Andrew and Admiral Sir Geoffrey Phipps Hornby, and the following letters of the Admiral contain matter of some interest on manning the Navy and on the formation of a sheltered anchorage at Malta:—

From Admiral Sir Geoffrey Phipps Hornby.

"LORDINGTON, EMSWORTH,
"13 *June*, 1894.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"Thanks for your letter of the 10th instant. I should like to see your scheme of manning of 1871.[1] Not, I fear, that it would help us much now, but the cause of the difference would probably appeal to the House of Lords and to the few statesmen, like Goschen and Chamberlain, that are left in the Commons.

"That difference is that in 1871 there was a large number of the old trained seamen in the mercantile marine. Now, except among the officers, who are very good, there are none. I know how good the men were then, because in 1869 I hoisted my flag in Leith Coast-guard ship, when Childers called out the Naval Reserve. I was very much taken with that crew, they were quite of the old sort. I was ordered to inspect the Reserve men. I found the Hull and Thames men as good as those of the Forth. The Liverpool men looked better still, but I am a Lancaster man, so I thought I might be

[1] See Appendix for Sir Andrew Clarke's scheme of manning the Navy.

prejudiced. At last I got to the Westcountrymen and these beat the whole lot. *Now* none such are to be found.

"I went to Liverpool some four years ago to give prizes in the training ship, and all the shipowners were asking me could nothing be done to provide seamen. It cannot be done by the mercantile marine. It might be done by the Royal Navy almost as easily as soldiers are made in Germany. I know of no authority who can say that a seaman can be made in less than seven years. A soldier, I believe, may be made in three. We ought to go to work in the same way that the soldiers do, viz. by keeping the teachers and the learners together in permanent bodies. At present, for no earthly reason, we prefer to pull our crews to pieces every two or three years.

"I would like to know how you proposed to train. . . . A 'National Navy' is what we want, and the men in it should be available for the Queen's service as much as for that of the merchants.

"Yours very truly,
"G. PHIPPS HORNBY."

From the same.

"LORDINGTON, EMSWORTH,
"16*th January*, 1895.

"MY DEAR CLARKE,

"We want a harbour in the Mediterranean badly that can compete with Toulon! Has your attention as an engineer ever been drawn to the two Comino Channels, between Malta and Gozo, and the possibility of making a large harbour out of one or other of them by throwing out breakwaters at either end so as to shelter ships from the Gregalé and S.W. winds? The latter seldom blow hard, and it would be a question whether a S.W. breakwater would be necessary. But the length of Toulon Bay must be seven or eight miles. Of course only part is sheltered from the S.W.

"The longer, that is the Western, Comino Channel must be a good five miles. As to depth of water, the ironclads run through to practise torpedoes, so there must be plenty of water. A harbour open to the sea at

both ends would be temporal salvation to our poor fellows, who now pass many weeks each year in a close cesspool, and contract fevers almost as bad as those from the East Coast of Africa.

"I once possessed a geological account of Malta, and I think it said that in parts of the island there was a hard limestone; but perhaps in these days you engineers look on stone breakwaters as savage makeshifts, and are prepared to anchor pontoons broadside to the sea so as to break it, as our fishermen in heavy weather make a raft of their spars and ride under their lee. But however we gained it, a harbour in the central Mediterranean, four miles long and one and a half or two miles wide, would make our friends across the Channel 'sit up.'

"Yours very truly,

"G. PHIPPS HORNBY."

CHAPTER XIV

LAST YEARS OF A BUSY LIFE

1895–1902

THE closing years of the life of anyone who has passed the allotted span must necessarily be saddened by the disappearance of many who are dear to him, of contemporaries, old colleagues, and trusted friends, and Sir Andrew Clarke, after his seventy-first year had passed, was like a green leaf left on a tree at the end of autumn, while its companions for the most part are withering and fluttering to the ground. Fortunately there were still some other green leaves left to bear him company and to enjoy with him a little longer the sunshine and the breezes of the world. A letter from one of these old friends, still "young at heart," has a cheery ring about it, and a determination to make the best of things, which must have met with a responsive echo in Sir Andrew's heart:—

From Sir Algernon Borthwick.

"PICCADILLY, 31*st October*, 1895.

"MY DEAR ANDIE,

"Just come south after a good season bar grouse. I was waiting to thank you in my new name,[1] but it's all in a fog and will only come out in the bonfires and squibs of November.

"Dear old times! Childers, who is out of sorts, poor

[1] Lord Glenesk.

fellow, says, 'How few of us[1] left!' But thank God it's the other way on. There's himself. There are the three, Evelyn, Lochiel, and I. There's Wharncliffe and you, Calcraft, Rowton, and Wolff. We have worn well in the thirty years, and all young at heart and glad of each other's successes. Do you remember how we all said we should get on?

"Ever thine,

"ALGERNON BORTHWICK.

But the next few months proved to be very sad ones for Sir Andrew. Lady Clarke died on the 8th November, 1895. She was buried in the Locksbrook Cemetery at Bath, and over her grave was erected a beautiful sarcophagus in bronze, on which was a figure of the Recording Angel with the open book. This work of art was one of the last commissions executed by the late Mr. E. Onslow Ford, R.A.

The death of Lady Clarke was succeeded within three months by that of Sir Andrew's old friend, the Right Hon. Hugh C. E. Childers, also a recent widower, who died on the 29th January, 1896. Sir Andrew's friendship with Mr. Childers, dating from the beginning of their political careers at Melbourne, had lasted without a break for over forty years. Whenever Sir Andrew was away from home on foreign service, whether on the West Coast of Africa, in the Straits Settlements, or in India, he kept up a constant and regular correspondence with Mr. Childers, seldom allowing a mail to pass without writing. Extracts from many of Sir Andrew's letters to his friend are published in the "Life" of the statesman, and some have been printed in this volume.

Mr. Childers was the staunchest of friends, and on

[1] "Owls."

BRONZE SARCOPHAGUS AT LOCKSBROOK CEMETERY, BATH

BY MR. E. ONSLOW FORD, R.A.

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several occasions was able to render his old Melbourne colleague a service, as, for instance, when he brought him into the War Office as Inspector-General of Fortifications in 1882. On the other hand, Sir Andrew exercised no little influence over Mr. Childers, who placed the greatest reliance on his judgment, often consulting him on questions of high politics as a wise counsellor and trusty friend. The death of so close and intimate a companion, following so quickly on that of Lady Clarke, was a great shock to Sir Andrew. His brothers, all younger than himself, were already gone to their rest, and he alone was left. True, he had one child,[1] the daughter born at Bath when he was leaving India. She was to him as the apple of his eye, and on her he lavished all the love of his affectionate nature.

As the spring of 1896 passed away, Sir Andrew endeavoured to find solace for his grief in work, and he wrote to Mr. James Service,[2] expressing a wish to take up again the agency for Victoria. He received the following reply:—

From the Hon. James Service.

"KILWINNING, BALACLAVA,
"*31st May*, 1896.

"MY DEAR SIR ANDREW,

"It gave me pleasure to see your old fist again, and to learn that your health and faculties were so good that you not only were ready to take up the old post again, which you have frequently held temporarily, but that you were prepared to pay a visit to this side of the world, if such a visit would promote the object you have in view. . . .

[1] Elinor Mary de Winton Clarke, married on 10th June, 1903, to Lieutenant (now Commander) Murray F. Sueter, R.N.

[2] A foremost Victorian statesman, who died in 1896.

"I had a quiet and pleasant chat with the Premier on the subject, and showed him your letter. Like everybody else, he at once acknowledged your great fitness for the post, and if the rule were 'the post for the best man,' you would probably head the poll. . . .

"I dilated on your valuable services in regard to the New Hebrides at a critical time, when there was every appearance of the Imperial Government yielding to France, and I was strong in pointing out that where anything was to be done outside of your own special knowledge, nobody could beat you in quickly determining where to apply and to whom to turn for information. I instanced, as a small example, what you did in regard to that group of statuary in Rome, when I was deputed by the Ballarat people to examine and approve of it for their public gardens.[1] Perhaps you have forgotten the little matter, but it was highly appreciated by me at the time, and by the Ballarat people, whom I took care to inform of the whole matter. . . .

"Yours very truly,

"JAMES SERVICE."

In the following October Sir Andrew was made an Honorary Member of the Institution of Civil Engineers, of which he, in common with so many of his brother officers, was already an Associate. He had during his life had a great deal to do with civil engineering works—for nine years at the Admiralty and for five years in India—and he had always shown a marked appreciation of the work of those civil engineers with whom he had been associated. In making reports to Government he had frequently had the assistance of such distinguished members of the profession as Sir John Hawkshaw and Sir John Coode, and he greatly

[1] The incident referred to occurred in 1886, when Sir Andrew Clarke put Mr. Service into communication with the British Ambassador at Rome, Sir Clare Ford, who took a great deal of trouble in forwarding the wishes of the people of Ballarat to possess copies of some antique Roman sculpture.

appreciated the compliment paid to him by the Institution.

On the 1st January, 1897, Sir Andrew's desire to serve the colony of Victoria again was gratified by his appointment to be Acting Agent-General. From this time forward to the end of his life he continued to represent Victoria in the capital of the empire. Two years later the qualification of "Acting" was dropped, and he was confirmed in the appointment as Agent-General.[1] An old Australian statesman then wrote to him:—

From the Hon. Sir Charles Gavan Duffy.

"12, BOULEVARD VICTOR HUGO, NICE,
"*17th March*, 1899 (*St. Patrick's Day*).

"MY DEAR SIR ANDREW,

"I read with great satisfaction in an Australian newspaper that you were at length appointed Agent-General, a long-delayed piece of justice.

"I have often thought that to write the history of responsible government in Australia ought to be an easy and pleasant task to you. The men who knew the early period will soon be all gone, and there will be no one competent to tell a highly interesting story. You may inquire why I don't do it myself, but in another month I shall have commenced my eighty-fourth year, and the buoyancy and self-confidence which carried me successfully through many an enterprise has grown very small.

"Has anything ever been done to bring out an

[1] The hesitation in taking this step shown by the Executive at Melbourne was due entirely to party warfare in the Victorian Legislative Assembly. One section of politicians wished to abolish the agency-general, another to make it the prize of the successful politician, while the Government steered a middle course by utilising Sir Andrew Clarke's services in an acting capacity, at a saving to the Victorian revenue of £800 a year. This represented Sir Andrew's pension as Surveyor-General, which he did not draw when he held the post of Agent-General.

English edition of Marcus Clarke's[1] writings? . . . He was a man of undoubted genius.

"Why do you not, like so many Englishmen, sometimes take your holiday by a run to the South? I should be very glad to see you here, as I have no hope of seeing you anywhere else. I do not think I shall ever make another visit to London.

"Very faithfully yours,
"C. GAVAN DUFFY."

Victoria was not the only Australian colony that Sir Andrew represented in London. On several occasions he acted also as Agent-General for Tasmania, the colony with which he had been first associated half a century before, and while holding this post temporarily in 1898–9 he received the following letter from Sir Edward Braddon, the Tasmanian Premier, which is of some interest at the present time:—

From Sir E. Braddon.

"*29th January*, 1899.

"MY DEAR SIR ANDREW,

"It has been and is my intention to introduce next session a revised customs tariff, with a substantial preference as to all produce and products of the British Empire. But I have noted that there seemed a disposition on the part of the British Government to enter into a new treaty with Germany that would preclude any preference being given to British possessions over that country.

"The course I propose to take is one that was agreed to at the Conference held in London with the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1897, but I do not want to take any action thereupon that shall be embarrassing to the Home Government, and I shall be obliged if you will ascertain from Mr. Chamberlain what his present wishes are in this respect.

"Yours very sincerely,
"E. BRADDON."

[1] Sir Andrew's cousin. See page

This letter Sir Andrew sent on to Mr. Chamberlain, who replied:—

From the Rt. Hon. J. Chamberlain.

"COLONIAL OFFICE,
"15 *March*, 1899.

"DEAR SIR ANDREW CLARKE,

"I have received your note enclosing a copy of Sir Edward Braddon's letter to you on the subject of the Revised Customs Tariff, which he intends to introduce in the Tasmanian Parliament. Sir Edward Braddon asks for an expression of my views. Please tell him that nothing has changed since the Conference of Premiers in 1897, and that it is certainly not the intention of H.M. Government to do anything in the way of treaties with foreign Powers which would interfere with such a voluntary preference as he suggests. The concession of such a preference would, as in the case of Canada, be highly appreciated in this country as a testimony of friendship and goodwill, and a recognition of the liberal treatment afforded by the mother-country.

"I am, yours very faithfully,
"J. CHAMBERLAIN."

Always most hospitable to Victorians visiting the old country, Sir Andrew, as Agent-General, welcomed the Victorian Premier, Sir George Turner, and Lady Turner at 42, Portland Place, on their arrival to represent the colony at the late Queen's Diamond Jubilee festivities; and subsequently, among other entertainments, he gave a very successful garden party in their honour at the Botanical Gardens, Regent's Park. Lord Brassey, Governor of Victoria, writing to Sir Andrew from Melbourne at the end of the autumn, said: "I hear, on all hands, how well you do your work as Agent-General."

The King of Siam was also a visitor to London in

the Diamond Jubilee year. Sir Andrew had an audience with His Majesty at Buckingham Palace, and writing to a friend about it next day, he said:—

"I had a most kind and cordial reception from the King. I was pleasantly surprised at this, for from his not replying to my letters of late years I feared that he had forgotten the service I rendered him and Siam in 1875. But one thing was significant and suggestive—the warm way in which he spoke of the friendship which existed between him and the Czar of Russia, and his marked allusion to the Czar's goodwill and interest in his country."

His Majesty subsequently honoured Sir Andrew Clarke with his company at dinner. On the King's return to Siam he issued a proclamation to his people, calling upon them to be as true to him in the troubles he saw ahead as he would be to them. Captain Loftus, who held an official position in Siam and was known there as Phra Nehtate, sent Sir Andrew a copy of this proclamation and asked him his opinion on it. In a long letter to "Dear Phra Nehtate," dated 42, Portland Place, 18th April, 1898, Sir Andrew replied:—

To Captain Loftus.

"It may be mere imagination, or an impression born of knowledge, but I seem to recognise a note of pathos in his (the King's) words indicating some regret, if not disappointment, clouding his life's work and aspirations. Such a feeling I can understand and almost share, for I recall to memory the overtures he made, and the counsels then tendered in their support, to the Government of Great Britain. Had those overtures been accepted, His Majesty's aspirations for the establishment of an enfranchised people on the free soil of an unmutilated Siam would, I believe, have been fully realised, whilst British commerce and British merchants would have found easy access to the crowded marts of

Southern and Middle China by the valleys of the Menam and Mekong.

"No one can view the recent development in the Far East without anxiety. A new chapter of history has opened, and the end cannot be foreseen. Whatever may be the issue of events, I trust that the prosperity and the integrity of Siam will be assured, and that His Majesty will be long preserved to carry out his endeavours for the good of his people."

On the 18th January, 1898, a banquet was given by the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce to the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain in connection with the Jubilee celebrations of the previous year, and it was arranged that Sir Andrew Clarke should reply to the toast of the colonies. Unfortunately he was in bad health, and at the last moment his doctor forbade him to go to Liverpool. He greatly regretted being unable to take part in this tribute to Mr. Chamberlain, and he wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. T. H. Barker, in which he said: "The keynote of the Jubilee celebration was the essential unity of the British people. . . . We have, I believe, now learned the great lesson that the growth and prosperity of the empire depends upon a generous and sympathetic administration on the part of the parent State, a mutual understanding which has happily increased in recent years, and the provision of adequate strength, naval and military, to uphold the honour and just rights of our people in every part of the world." Sir Andrew then paid a graceful tribute to the late Sir Robert Meade, whose funeral he had attended the previous week, and by whose death the State had lost a devoted servant and the colonies a warm friend. He pointed out that the inception of the Colonial Defence Committee and its establishment on a permanent basis

were mainly due to Sir Robert Meade. He concluded his letter with an appreciation of Mr. Chamberlain, who, he said, had shown himself fully alive to the vital importance of national defence, using the term in its widest meaning, and who, he believed, would do all in his power to create a truly national organisation, alike worthy of the empire and adequate to its far-reaching requirements.

In the autumn of the Jubilee year Sir Andrew's very old friend, Lord Wharncliffe, sent him a pressing invitation to pay him a visit at Wortley and bring his daughter. "We are obliged," he said, "to live very quietly here in consequence of my inability to shoot or take much exercise myself. But still friends do come occasionally, and we may be able to offer you a little pleasant society. I should like Miss Clarke to see a place of which you are so fond, and for Lady Wharncliffe to have the chance of making the acquaintance of your daughter." In little over a year from this time Lord Wharncliffe had passed away.

In spite of advancing years Sir Andrew continued to show undiminished activity. His work at the Victoria Agency, which would have sufficed for the energy of most men of his age, represented only a part of his daily engagements. He followed the course of political events with close attention, and frequently contributed letters to the daily papers, principally the *Times*. He read a paper on "The Economic Development of the Malay Peninsula" before the London Chamber of Commerce, and another on "Sir Stamford Raffles and the Malay States" before the Royal Institution. As late as January, 1902, Sir Andrew contributed an article to the *Nineteenth Century and After* on "Our Naval Position in Eastern Seas," and in the following month

he described his visit to Siam in 1875 in the pages of the *Contemporary Review*.

He sent a copy of the Malay paper to Colonel John Hay, the United States Ambassador, and suggested a scheme for the pacification of the Philippine Islands on the basis of what he had done in the Malay Peninsula in 1874. In acknowledging the receipt of the pamphlet, Colonel Hay said: "I have as yet no idea of the ultimate intention of my Government in the matter of the Philippines; but I cannot help wishing we had at our disposition a few men of wisdom and experience equal to yours." Sir Andrew developed his scheme for the Philippines in a long letter to an American gentleman, Mr. F. B. Forbes, who took a great interest in the subject, and brought the letter to the notice of the United States Government. It was printed as a White Paper by order of the Senate.

In the autumn of 1899 Sir Andrew paid a visit to North America as one of the Australian representatives at the International Commercial Congress held at Philadelphia. It was the first time he had been in the United States, and he greatly enjoyed the novelty of his stay in that progressive country.

He took a lively interest in the establishment of the Pacific Telegraph Cable from the first inception of the idea of an "all red" line of telegraph to connect up the scattered parts of the empire without entering foreign territory; and this interest was now increased by his appointment as one of the two Australian representatives on the Board of Directors.

While engaged in promoting cable communication across the Pacific to the Antipodes, he was no less active in working up the trade of Victoria with the mother-country and with South Africa; and when the

war with the Boers began he succeeded in securing a number of contracts from the Imperial Government for produce of all kinds from Victoria.

But the great question in regard to Australia which occupied Sir Andrew at this time was that of Colonial Federation. After ten years of negotiations there resulted, in the autumn of 1899, the Commonwealth Bill of the five colonies—New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, and Tasmania. Addresses to the Queen were sent home by these colonies praying for its enactment, but as some alterations were deemed necessary, Mr. Chamberlain telegraphed to Australia for delegates to advise and assist the Government during the passage of the Bill through Parliament. The delegates arrived in March, 1900.

Owing to failing health the delegate for Victoria, the Hon. Alfred Deakin, was obliged to leave England, and Sir Andrew Clarke was appointed delegate in his place. He was thus most unexpectedly enabled to participate in the final act of the settlement. The end was only reached after a very anxious time between the delegates and the home Government in discussing the clauses of the Bill relating to the appeals to the Privy Council. Sir Andrew was such an ardent Imperialist that he personally looked with disfavour upon any abrogation of the right of every citizen of the empire to appeal to the Sovereign in Council; and the final compromise arrived at, by which an appeal on a constitutional question to the Privy Council was made dependent on a certificate to be granted at the direction of the Commonwealth High Court, did not meet with his entire concurrence. No other amendment of any consequence (except a provision for the inclusion of Western Australia as an original State, provided she

so agreed before the issue of the proclamation) was made by Parliament in the Bill, which became an Act of the Imperial Parliament on the 9th July, 1900.[1]

To celebrate this important event in the history of the colonies and the date of their federation, Sir Andrew addressed a letter to the leading newspapers on the very day the Act was passed, comparing the new political development with the grant of self-government to his old colony, Victoria, half a century earlier. As the sole survivor of the framers of the Constitution of Victoria in 1854, he ventured to prophesy that as the ties of the colony to the mother-country had been then strengthened by the bestowal of self-government, so the new Commonwealth would prove the beginning of still closer relations between Great Britain and Federated Australia.

In the spring of 1901, nearly eleven years after Sir Andrew had attended the unveiling of the Gordon statue at Chatham, he was asked by Mr. Onslow Ford to preside at the casting of a replica of that statue to be erected at Khartoum by subscribers to the *Morning Post.*

When the day arrived (13th March) Sir Andrew was ill in bed, but with that strong will and undaunted spirit that characterised him he determined not to disappoint his friends, and insisted on leaving his bed to be present. He drove with his daughter to Parlenti's Albion Foundry at Parson's Green, where a small company was assembled. Sir Andrew looked dreadfully ill. The furnace was not at the right heat, and there was a long wait in a draughty shed on a bleak March day.

[1] Western Australia joined the Commonwealth before the proclamation, and was included in it on the 17th October, 1900.

At last, when all was ready, the late Hon. Oliver Borthwick, in the name of the subscribers, asked Sir Andrew to perform the ceremony. Sir Andrew took the string by which a plug could be removed that would enable the molten metal to enter the moulds; but he was too ill to address the company, and General Sir Richard Harrison said a few words for him. Then Sir Andrew pulled the string, and the fiery current flowed into the moulds. The casting proved a complete success, and the statue, after being publicly exhibited in St. Martin's Place, was sent to Khartoum, where it now stands looking over the Nile and the desert, a perpetual memento of the man who loved and died for his black Soudanese people.

As far back as 1873, when Sir Andrew Clarke was leaving the Admiralty to take over the government of the Straits Settlements, the municipal authorities of Dover had contemplated conferring the freedom of their town on him in recognition of the services he had rendered them in 1865, and again in 1873, in connection with Dover Harbour.[1] But Sir Andrew's departure for Singapore prevented the suggestion taking definite shape. More than a quarter of a century later the proposal was revived, and the freedom of the Cinque Port was to have been conferred upon him at the same time that Lord Roberts received it. Lord Roberts stipulated that the ceremony should be postponed until the war was over. By that time Sir Andrew had gone to his rest.

His last public act was to read the address of welcome from the colonial representatives in London to their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, on their return from their tour round British Dominions

[1] See note, page 121.

beyond the seas in November, 1901. On the 8th January, 1902, he was appointed a Colonel-Commandant of the Corps of Royal Engineers, a return to the Regimental List which gave him great pleasure; but his health had been breaking for some time, and he did not live long to enjoy the distinction. He died at 31, Portland Place on the morning of Easter Eve, 29th March, 1902, in his seventy-eighth year.

The remains of Sir Andrew Clarke were buried beside those of his wife at Locksbrook Cemetery, Bath, on Thursday, 3rd April, and received the honours of a military funeral on their passage from Portland Place to Paddington Station. The coffin, covered with the Union flag, and bearing Sir Andrew's cocked hat and sword, was carried on a gun-carriage, detachments of the 2nd Life Guards and of Royal Engineers furnishing the escort. Besides other relatives and friends who followed were Major Lardner Clarke (nephew) and Colonel Filgate. The Deputy Adjutant-General, Royal Engineers (Sir William Salmond, K.C.B.), and the Commandant of the School of Military Engineering (Sir Thomas Fraser, K.C.B., C.M.G.) attended as representatives of the Corps to which Sir Andrew had always been so proud to belong. Mr. W. B. Robinson, C.M.G., and Mr. A. W. Arkill represented the Victorian Agency, and the former placed a wreath on the coffin with the following inscription:—"The Speaker and Legislative Assembly of Victoria deeply regret the death of Sir Andrew Clarke, and bear grateful testimony to the valuable services which for many years he rendered to the State of Victoria."

At the same time as the burial at Bath a memorial service was held at St. Marylebone Parish Church, at which the Secretary of State for the Colonies was

represented by Mr. Bromley, and the Agents-General of the colonies and other distinguished men attended, while a numerous body of brother officers and friends filled the church.

In reviewing the life of Sir Andrew Clarke one is struck with its variety and with the energy and pertinacity that he displayed in so many different callings. Whether as a colonial politician, a dock and harbour engineer, a member of the Viceroy of India's Council, the head of a great military school, the chief of a distinguished Corps and a principal officer of the War Office, or the Agent-General for a self-governing colony, there is always the same interest in his work, the same untiring energy in pushing his views, and the same pertinacity in endeavouring to achieve his object. One great feature of the man was his quickness in picking out men of ability and giving them opportunities of showing what they were worth, and not a few owe their success in life to the opportunities so given.

Sir Andrew made many friends, and the friends that he made stuck to him through life, and he to them. With a strong political bias, he was a popular man, even in Melbourne, where party feeling ran high fifty years ago, and both sides spoke well of him. So it was at home: he had as many friends in the Conservative as in the Liberal party. Those who knew the man and differed from him condoned the extreme views he held on some points, because they were so eminently characteristic of him; and "Andy Clarke," as he was called by his intimates, would not have been "Andy Clarke" had not the vivacious spirit that displayed itself in a stimulating treatment of even ordinary subjects sometimes rushed into excess. A genial manner

and a kind heart always ready to serve a friend were attractions that few could resist. As a public man he was an able and hard-working servant of the State.

The story of his life may be fittingly concluded with a selection from the numerous letters of sympathy and condolence received by his daughter after his death. This selection is confined to a few of the official and semi-official appreciations of the services he had rendered to his country and the loss sustained by his death.

In a letter dated 3rd April, 1902, from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Agent-General for Victoria, acknowledging with deep regret the receipt of the news of Sir Andrew's death, he writes :—

"Through a long lifetime Sir Andrew Clarke rendered many distinguished services to the Government in this country, in India, and in the colonies, and his loss will be widely felt not only in Victoria, which he served so well, but in every part of the empire to which he devoted his life."

The Secretary of State for the Colonies also wrote to Miss Clarke :—

From the Rt. Hon. J. Chamberlain.

"40, PRINCE'S GARDENS, S.W.,
"*2 April*, 1902.

"DEAR MISS CLARKE,

"I have heard with sincere sorrow of your father's death, and I desire to offer to you my great sympathy in your irreparable loss.

"My official relations with your father and my knowledge of his long and distinguished career have enabled me to appreciate his services to the empire, and to recognise his great ability and self-denying devotion to its interests.

"I trust that even in the midst of your grief it may

be some consolation to you to know how highly your father was esteemed by all who had the opportunity of knowing him. He had the great satisfaction of seeing his principles generally accepted, and he must have felt that he had contributed to their success. This is, after all, the reward for which all honourable and conscientious public men most earnestly strive, and I am glad to think that it was not denied to him in the closing years of his life.

"My wife desires to join with me in sincere condolences, and I beg you to believe that I am

"Yours truly,

"J. CHAMBERLAIN."

The Commander-in-Chief, Earl Roberts, expressed his great regret and deep sympathy through the Deputy Adjutant-General, R.E., who added a few words on behalf of the Corps.

H.E. Colonel Sir G. S. Clarke, Governor of Victoria, telegraphed to Miss Clarke:—

"Deeply grieved by sad news. Government feels great loss to Victoria. Our warmest sympathy."

He also wired to the Secretary of State:—

"General regret felt here death Sir Andrew Clarke, and warm appreciation of his eminent services to the empire and State Victoria."

The following letter from the Premier of Victoria, with its enclosures, testifies to the general feeling of loss felt in the Australasian colonies:—

From the Hon. A. J. Peacock.

"PREMIER'S OFFICE, MELBOURNE,

"2 *April*, 1902.

"DEAR MISS CLARKE,

"It was with real sorrow that I received on the 30th ultimo the telegraphic news of your father's death. My telegram of the 31st idem, expressive of the sym-

pathy of the Government in your bereavement and of the loss sustained by Victoria in his decease, will have been communicated to you.

"But I write to add a few lines to state how not only this Government, but I am sure the people of Victoria, feel that a real friend has been taken from us.

"I need not refer to Sir Andrew Clarke's long and honourable imperial service, but I cannot refrain from saying that after his having for so many years identified himself with the interests of Victoria, so ably and indefatigably served her in his official capacity as Agent-General, and through his having laid himself out in every way to facilitate the objects of all the colonists who sought his aid when in England, he has left behind him a name which will be always honoured and cherished, and that his decease has created a blank which it will be scarcely possible to fill.

"As indicating how general is the sense of the loss which has come to us all through Sir Andrew's death, and of the respect in which he was held, I send you copies of telegrams on the subject which I have received from—

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies;
His Excellency the Governor of Victoria;
The Right Hon. E. Barton, Prime Minister of the Commonwealth; and
The Right Hon. R. J. Seddon, Premier of New Zealand.

"Believe me, etc.,
"A. J. PEACOCK."

Enclosure to above.

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of Victoria:—"I have received with deep regret news of the death of Sir Andrew Clarke, Agent-General for Victoria, on March 30th.—CHAMBERLAIN."

From the Governor of Victoria from Macedon to the Premier of Victoria:—"Grieved deeply to hear of death of Sir Andrew Clarke. He was an Imperialist of the finest type, and his services have been invaluable. Victoria has lost a most devoted representative and I my best friend.—G. S. CLARKE."

From the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth from Sydney to the Premier of Victoria:—"The Federal Ministry deeply sympathise with the Government of Victoria in the loss they have sustained by the death of Sir Andrew Clarke. These valuable services will be sadly missed.—EDWARD BARTON."

From the Prime Minister of New Zealand at Nelson, N.Z., to the Premier of Victoria:—"New Zealand sympathises very sincerely in the great loss which your colony has sustained in the death of your able and esteemed Agent-General, Sir Andrew Clarke.—R. J. SEDDON."

From the Agents-General for Tasmania and Natal came the following letters:—

From the Agent-General for Tasmania.

"5, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER,
"LONDON, S.W., 2 *April*, 1902.

"DEAR MISS CLARKE,

"I have received a cable message from the Premier of Tasmania (the Hon. N. E. Lewis, C.M.G.) asking me to tell you how deeply he and his colleagues sympathise with you in your sad loss. My Government will ever remember the valuable services rendered by Sir Andrew to Tasmania.

"If anything could afford consolation at such a time as this, surely it would be the recollection of the long and useful life that Sir Andrew was permitted to lead—a life devoted to the cause of the empire.

"His career was marked by conscientious work and distinguished ability, and his name is a synonym for all that is good, true, and noble. Well indeed has he earned his long rest.

"Will you permit me to express on my own behalf my deep sympathy, and to add that I keenly regret Sir Andrew's loss?

"On several occasions I had the privilege of consulting him and drawing upon his large and varied store of knowledge and experience, and I always found

in him a true and sympathetic friend and a wise counsellor. Believe me to remain,

"Yours sincerely,
"ALFRED DOBSON,
"*Agent-General.*"

From the Agent-General for Natal.

"26, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.,
"*3rd April*, 1902.

"DEAR MISS CLARKE,

"I was very sorry to hear on my return from the Riviera of the serious illness of my most esteemed friend, your father; and it was a great shock to me when I called last Monday to hear that he had passed away. . . .

"This morning I have a cable message from Sir Henry McCallum asking me to express to you his warmest sympathy along with that of Lady McCallum.

"Believe me, etc.,
"WALTER PEACE."

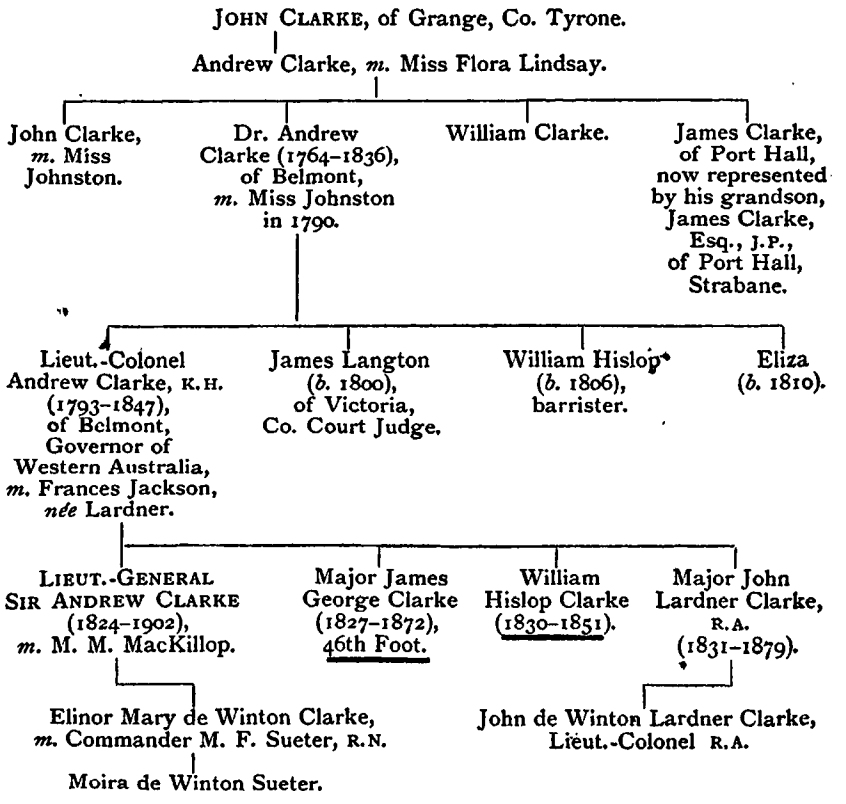
Finally the Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute, Mr. J. S. O'Halloran, C.M.G., forwarded a resolution of condolence unanimously adopted by the Council on the proposal of Lieutenant-General Sir J. Bevan Edwards, K.C.M.G., C.B., seconded by Sir Henry E. G. Bulwer, G.C.M.G., on the 15th April, 1902, to the following effect:—

"The Council of the Royal Colonial Institute lament the death of Lieutenant-General Sir Andrew Clarke, R.E., G.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E., Agent-General for Victoria, who joined the Institute when it was founded in 1868 as one of its first Fellows, and served his country in various capacities, both at home and beyond the seas, with conspicuous ability and success. He rendered important services in bringing the Malay States within the sphere of British influence. The Council offer the expression of their sincerest sympathy to Miss Clarke and the other members of the family in their great loss."

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

FAMILY GENEALOGY


JOHN CLARKE, of Grange, Co. Tyrone.
Andrew Clarke, m. Miss Flora Lindsay.
John Clarke, m. Miss Johnston.
Dr. Andrew Clarke (1764–1836), of Belmont, m. Miss Johnston in 1790.
William Clarke.
James Clarke, of Port Hall, now represented by his grandson, James Clarke, Esq., J.P., of Port Hall, Strabane.
Lieut.-Colonel Andrew Clarke, K.H. (1793–1847), of Belmont, Governor of Western Australia, m. Frances Jackson, née Lardner.
James Langton (b. 1800), of Victoria, Co. Court Judge.
William Hislop (b. 1806), barrister.
Eliza (b. 1810).
LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR ANDREW CLARKE (1824–1902), m. M. M. MacKillop.
Major James George Clarke (1827–1872), 46th Foot.
William Hislop Clarke (1830–1851).
Major John Lardner Clarke, R.A. (1831–1879).
Elinor Mary de Winton Clarke, m. Commander M. F. Sueter, R.N.
Moira de Winton Sueter.
John de Winton Lardner Clarke, Lieut.-Colonel R.A.

APPENDIX II

INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF SIR ANDREW CLARKE'S FATHER[1]

(Coat of Arms).
Underneath this tomb
Are interred the mortal remains
Of
Lieut.-Colonel Andrew Clarke,
Late Commanding the 46th Regiment,
Knight of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order,
Governor,
Commander-in-Chief, and Vice-Admiral
Of
Western Australia and its Dependencies.
Devoted from an early period of life to the service
Of his country,
He succeeded under the varied trials
Of climate, of difficulty, and of danger
In securing to himself by singleness of purpose,
By persevering firmness, by fidelity
And wise discretion,
The marked approbation of his Sovereign,
And
The respect and esteem of all who knew him
In the discharge of his Military and Civil Duties
And whilst his urbanity of demeanour and
placidity of disposition
Won for him the regard of the stranger,
And endeared him in no common degree
To his family and friends,
It was the distinguished excellence of his life,
That faith unfeigned and piety unaffected,
Gave consistency to all his actions,
And at once embellished and completed his character
As a Christian Soldier.
He departed this life,
After a public service of forty years,
On the 11th day of February, 1847,
In the 54th year of his age.

[1] This copy of the inscription on Colonel Clarke's tomb in the cemetery at Perth, Western Australia, was kindly procured by the Right Hon. Sir John Forrest, K.C.M.G., for Sir Andrew Clarke's daughter, Mrs. Sueter.

APPENDIX III

DIARY OF THE VOYAGE OF THE BERMUDA FLOATING DOCK ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

IN A LETTER TO SIR ANDREW CLARKE FROM A MEMBER OF HIS STAFF

"BERMUDA DOCK, *11th July*, 1869.
"Lat. 27° 46′ N., long. 29° 58′ W.

"YOU will see (from my official account) that we had got on so far without accident or misadventure, and that is, I think, what you will most care about. Here we are a week from Porto Santo and about a fortnight from Bermuda, that is if we have as good wind and weather as have accompanied us thus far. We go along about 120 miles in the twenty-four hours, the towing-ships with studding sails set, and the N.E. trades driving them on gaily. They (the *Warrior* and *Black Prince*) are only burning thirty-six tons of coal per diem. I am glad to have still the same account to give of our progress, viz. that nothing could be more satisfactory. The trip has been very uneventful, and it is difficult to make any sort of story out of it. The *Warrior's* people have paid us more attention than the *Northumberland's* did. Captain Boyes sent us a hindquarter of mutton the other day, and the wardroom officers gave us a piece of beef and some onions on Thursday. They sent these delicacies by a line hove over their ship's stern and fastened to one on board the Dock. We have done some rolling, but never more than thirteen degrees, eight rolls to the minute. The *Warrior* and *Black Prince* jump about a good deal more than we do, and dip their studding-sail booms with nearly every roll.

"*Sunday*, 18*th July*, lat. 26° 42′ N., long. 43° 57′ W., about 1,300 miles from Bermuda.—Nothing strange has taken place during the week. The runs have gradually decreased for the last few days; 107 miles were made on Thursday, 104 on Friday, 95 yesterday, and only 85 to-day.

The weather has been splendid, and as there is not much fear of a gale before August, it does not matter if we do not get in quite as soon as we thought this day last week. I think it would have been better if the *Northumberland* and *Agincourt* had come on with us for another 600 miles or so before transferring us to the *Warrior* and *Black Prince*. We have only seen one ship this week. We had a sharp squall on Friday. The Dock did not mind the wind much.

"*Sunday, 25th July*, lat. 28° 50′ N., long. 59° 12′ W., about 358 miles from Bermuda.—We have knocked along much as usual this week. The weather has been rainy and squally. The towing-ships began to put on a spurt yesterday, and increased the consumption of coal to forty-eight tons. I think there is no doubt of our being safe in port on Wednesday, and if we do we shall have done the voyage in five weeks, and may congratulate ourselves upon having had a wonderfully fine time of it. The Dock showed a tendency to go broadside on to the towing-ships on Tuesday night, and again on Friday to a greater extent. The wind was very strong at the time, and canted her head round wonderfully. The *Terrible's* weight astern was wanted to counteract it. Hope to be at Bermuda on Wednesday. The *Lapwing* has gone on. She parted company at three o'clock.

"*Wednesday, 28th July*, off Bermuda.—We sighted the lighthouse at 1.10 this morning, and the land a little after four o'clock. At 6.20 we were off the entrance to the Narrows, and had the *Warrior* shortened her hawsers a little and gone straight on with us, the Dock would have been safe in Grassy Bay long ago. However, the *Spitfire* came out with an order that we were to stay where we were. The *Spitfire*, *Viper*, and *Vixen* were to take the Dock in. The two latter are small composite gunboats with twin screws, perfectly useless for the service, and the first is a dockyard tug. The representations of —— led to a change of plans, and the *Terrible* was ordered to take us in tow. The Dock, however, insisted on going in exactly the opposite direction to that in which she was towed. The *Lapwing* was astern to steer us, but her weight was no use whatever. A regular mull was made of the whole proceeding, and here we

are about five or six miles from the land for the night. It has been a most disappointing day.

"*Thursday.*—The official log will give the exact time at which we started for port. We got along very well, although we had a narrow squeak for it if we did not touch the bottom. After rounding Catherine Point we were all clear, and got into Grassy Bay all right. Everyone here seems afraid of the Dock, and undecided what to do with her.

"*Friday.*—There was a good deal of excitement this morning. I was up all night finishing my work for the mail, and at four o'clock saw the Dock was drifting.

"I have reported fully in the log all that then occurred. To Hains is due the credit of getting her up yesterday, and keeping her from going ashore to-day."

Some time later the Dock was moored safely from its first position in Grassy Bay to inside the Camber at Ireland Island, where it remained until 1902. A new dock with accommodation for larger ironclads was sent in that year to replace the old one.

APPENDIX IV

SCHEME FOR NAVAL RESERVES PROPOSED BY COLONEL A. CLARKE, C.B., R.E.

I. The number of Officers, Petty Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, Seamen, Gunners, Stokers, Artificers, Marines, Attendants, and Boys of the Fleet, shall be raised to 180,000 men; of whom 60,000 shall be on board ship or in barracks, and 120,000 in reserve.

II. That this number shall be raised:

1. By entry as Boys between the ages of 13 and 18 selected from the population generally.

2. By entry from the Mercantile Marine, Coasting Trade, and Deep Sea Fishing population, between the ages of 18 and 23, and certain Artificers who have served their time.

III. That on any of the first class serving to the age of 21 he may pass into the reserve, if not re-entered for five years, and be rated as an ordinary seaman, or A.B., receiving £2 a year till 55 years of age, when he will be assigned a pension of £18 a year, provided that:

1. He has passed three months, till the age of 44, in every three years, either consecutively or separately, on board a man-of-war or training-ship, and has received a certificate for each training as efficient in seamanship, gunnery, and conduct.

2. That he must have followed the sea as a profession; and that Coasting, Yachting, Boating, Lightering, Piloting, etc., be considered as coming under sea-going.

3. That he must have been so employed for twenty-four years in a British ship or in a British port (Colonies included).

IV. That should he serve in a foreign ship or in a foreign port for more than one year he will forfeit his retaining fee, and be ineligible for pension unless restored to the Reserve

by special order; but his pension will be deferred for as many years as he has been absent from his flag.

V. His annual retaining fee to be paid in any British port, provided he has been serving for twelve months as a seaman, and has been borne on a training-ship or man-of-war, and received his certificate within two years.

VI. That Men who have entered at 18 and have served for seven years will pass into the Reserve, carrying with them their rating, which will guide proportionately their retaining fee and pension.

VII. That similarly Men of either category serving beyond the prescribed time in the Navy will have their retaining fee and pension proportionately increased, according to time and rating.

VIII. That Men of either category, if, whilst serving in the Mercantile Marine, acquire higher rating as Boatswains, Ships' Carpenters, or Mates of sea-going ships exceeding 250 tons, have corresponding rates assigned to them in the Reserve; and if afloat with that rating in a Queen's ship during war, or for a Commission exceeding one year, retaining fee and pension will be increased accordingly.

IX. Men of either category attaining First Mates' rank or Masters of Ships exceeding 250 tons, will become Sub-Lieutenants and Lieutenants of Reserve, retaining their right to fee and increased pension, provided they serve in a war, or during a Commission of not less than a year.

X. That the corps of Marines be raised as far as practicable from the 1st Class, and the Regulations for Seamen be as far as practicable applied to them.

XI. The same with Artificers, Stokers, and Attendants.

XII. That from the 1st Class selections may be made to Midshipmen, Clerks' Assistants, Dockyard Apprentices, and Pupil Artificers and Engineers.

XIII. That Lieutenants, Commanders, and Captains of the Royal Navy commanding Ships of the Mercantile Marine of more than 500 tons burden, be permitted to count their time as such as two-thirds of service time in a man-of-war, and

provided they carry one gun, not less than a 32-pounder, a Gunner or Gunner's Mate with an *Excellent's* Certificate, and not less than ten men of the Reserve, who may be exempt from joining a man-of-war for training for three years on receiving a certificate of competency from an Inspecting Officer.

XIV. The same to apply to a Merchant Vessel or Yacht commanded by an Officer of the Naval Reserve, but limited to one year.

XV. The Guns and certain amount of Ammunition for above to be supplied by the State.

XVI. Rifles, revolvers, cutlasses, pikes, and ammunition for the men of the Reserve Service, as above, to be issued to Owners of Ships, on their undertaking to make good if lost or damaged by neglect.

XVII. The present system of assigning maximum pensions on continuous service to be modified to meet the New Scheme, the deferred pensions being somewhat higher.

XVIII. Present Pensioners, men and boys, to be permitted to remain as they are, or to elect to New System.

XIX. That any Seaman of the Reserve may claim to enter and take his month, or longer, training on board any of Her Majesty's Ships, when a Training or Reserve Ship is not available.

XX. When afloat in a man-of-war, to receive pay and be treated in all ways as a regular man-of-war's man.

XXI. Broken time, or incapacity to fulfil, by ill health or wounds—special regulations.

XXII. This Scheme to be combined with regulations so as to localise, as far as practicable, the Men on shore in Reserve, giving them first claim to employment in the several Government Establishments.

APPENDIX V

ENGAGEMENT ENTERED INTO BY THE CHIEFS OF PERAK (COMMONLY CALLED THE TREATY OF PANGKOR), DATED 20TH JANUARY, 1874.

WHEREAS, a state of anarchy exists in the Kingdom of Perak owing to the want of settled government in that Country, and no efficient power exists for the protection of the people and for securing to them the fruits of their industry, and,

Whereas, large numbers of Chinese are employed and large sums of money invested in Tin mining in Perak by British subjects and others residing in Her Majesty's Possessions, and the said mines and property are not adequately protected, and piracy, murder, and arson are rife in the said country, whereby British trade and interests greatly suffer, and the peace and good order of the neighbouring British Settlements are sometimes menaced, and,

Whereas, certain Chiefs for the time being of the said Kingdom of Perak have stated their inability to cope with their present difficulties, and together with those interested in the industry of the country have requested assistance, and,

Whereas, Her Majesty's Government is bound by Treaty Stipulations to protect the said Kingdom and to assist its rulers, now,

His Excellency SIR ANDREW CLARKE, K.C.M.G., C.B., Governor of the Colony of the Straits Settlements, in compliance with the said request, and with a view of assisting the said rulers and of effecting a permanent settlement of affairs in Perak, has proposed the following Articles of arrangement as mutually beneficial to the Independent Rulers of Perak, their subjects, the subjects of Her Majesty,

and others residing in or trading with Perak, that is to say:—

I. First.—That the Raja Muda Abdulla be recognised as the Sultan of Perak.

II. Second.—That the Raja Bandahara Ismail, now Acting Sultan, be allowed to retain the title of Sultan Muda with a pension and a certain small Territory assigned to him.

III. Third.—That all the other nominations of great Officers made at the time the Raja Bandahara Ismail received the regalia be confirmed.

IV. Fourth.—That the power given to the Orang Kayah Mantri over Larut by the late Sultan be confirmed.

V. Fifth.—That all Revenues be collected and all appointments made in the name of the Sultan.

VI. Sixth.—That the Sultan receive and provide a suitable residence for a British Officer to be called Resident, who shall be accredited to his Court, and whose advice must be asked and acted upon on all questions other than those touching Malay Religion and Custom.

VII. Seventh.—That the Governor of Larut shall have attached to him as Assistant Resident, a British Officer acting under the Resident of Perak, with similar power and subordinate only to the said Resident.

VIII. Eighth.—That the cost of these Residents with their Establishments be determined by the Government of the Straits Settlements and be a first charge on the Revenues of Perak.

IX. Ninth.—That a Civil list regulating the income to be received by the Sultan, by the Bandahara, by the Mantri, and by other Officers be the next charge on the said Revenues.

X. Tenth.—That the collection and control of all Revenues and the general administration of the country be regulated under the advice of these Residents.

XI. Eleventh.—That the Treaty under which the Pulo Dinding and the islands of Pangkor were ceded to Great

Britain having been misunderstood, and it being desirable to readjust the same, so as to carry into effect the intention of the Framers thereof, it is hereby declared that the Boundaries of the said Territory so ceded shall be rectified as follows, that is to say :—

From Bukit Sigari, as laid down in Chart Sheet No. I. Straits of Malacca, a tracing of which is annexed,[1] marked A, in a straight line to the sea, thence along the sea coast to the South, to Pulo Katta on the West, and from Pulo Katta a line running North-East about five miles, and thence North to Bukit Sigari.

XII. Twelfth.—That the Southern watershed of the Krian River, that is to say, the portion of land draining into that River from the South, be declared British Territory, as a rectification of the Southern Boundary of Province Wellesley. Such Boundary to be marked out by Commissioners; one named by the Government of the Straits Settlements, and the other by the Sultan of Perak.

XIII. Thirteenth.—That on the cessation of the present disturbances in Perak and the re-establishment of peace and amity among the contending factions in that Country, immediate measures under the control and supervision of one or more British Officers shall be taken for restoring as far as practicable the occupation of the Mines, and the possession of Machinery, etc., as held previous to the commencement of these disturbances, and for the payment of compensation for damages, the decision of such officer or officers shall be final in such case.

XIV. Fourteenth.—The Mantri of Larut engages to acknowledge as a debt due by him to the Government of the Straits Settlements, the charges and expenses incurred by this intervention, as well as the charges and expenses to which the Colony of the Straits Settlements and Great Britain have been put or may be put by their efforts to secure the tranquillity of Perak and the safety of trade.

The above Articles having been severally read and explained to the undersigned who having understood the same,

[1] Not reproduced.

have severally agreed to and accepted them as binding on them and their Heirs and Successors.

This done and concluded at Pulo Pangkor in the British Possessions, this Twentieth day of January, in the year of the Christian Era one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four.

Executed before me,

ANDREW CLARKE,
Governor, Commander-in-Chief, and Vice-Admiral of the Straits Settlements.

Chop of the Sultan of Perak.[1]

[1] The treaty also bears the "chop" of the Bandahara Ismail, the Mantri, and five other great Malay Princes.

APPENDIX VI

PROCLAMATION OF THE GOVERNOR OF THE THREE SETTLEMENTS, SINGAPORE, PENANG, AND MALACCA,

TO THE MALAY RAJAS, ELDERS, AND PEOPLE, TO MAKE KNOWN TO THEM THE GOOD WISHES OF THE GREAT QUEEN OF ENGLAND

WHEREAS disturbances existed in several of the Malayan States in the neighbourhood of the Straits Settlements, and the Chiefs and Rulers of the said States being unable themselves to keep the Peace and protect the people under their rule, applied to this Government for assistance and protection, and this Government intervened to settle such disturbance and to aid the said Chiefs and Rulers to govern their respective countries, and arrangements were made with them for that purpose, and whereas the said matters were referred to the Government of the Great Queen in England. Now this is to make known to all that a letter has been received from the Right Hon'ble Earl of Carnarvon, of Highclere Castle, Newbury, High Steward of the University of Oxford, Constable of Carnarvon Castle, Doctor of Civil Law, Principal Secretary of State to Her Most Gracious Majesty VICTORIA, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, and Empress of India,[1] Minister of the Great Queen, in which the Minister giving the orders of the Great Queen's Government, says, in that letter about the Engagement entered into at Pulo Pangkor in Perak on the 20th January, 1874, that the Engagement is approved by the Great Queen; and, the Minister charges the

[1] This is the first occasion on which the style "Empress of India" was officially used, and there does not appear to have been any authority for its use. In his desire to impress the Malay chiefs with the greatness of his Sovereign, Sir Andrew anticipated the adoption of the style by Parliament by some eighteen months, and of the Proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India at the Delhi Durbar of 1st January, 1877, by more than two years.

Governor of the three Settlements, to acquaint the several Chiefs who have entered into these agreements that Her Majesty's Government have learnt with much satisfaction that they have now combined under our advice to put a stop once for all to the reign of anarchy and piracy which has unhappily so long been allowed to prevail, and which naturally resulted in the cessation of all legitimate trade and the impoverishment of the country, and at the same time to inform them that Her Majesty's Government will look to the exact fulfilment of the pledges which have now been voluntarily given, and will hold responsible those who violate the Engagement which has been solemnly agreed upon.

The Minister of the Great Queen also says that it is to be hoped that the wealth and material prosperity of the Malay Peninsula may largely increase, and that the Chiefs and People may gradually be led to understand that their true interests are best served by the natural and unrestricted growth of commerce which will surely follow upon the maintenance of peace and order within their respective Territories, and this we make known to all the Rajas, Chiefs, and People that they may be made acquainted with the wishes of the Great Queen's Government.

By His Excellency's Command,

T. BRADDELL,
Acting Colonial Secretary.

COLONIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
SINGAPORE, *2nd November*, 1874.

APPENDIX VII

SUBMISSION PAPER[1]

MR. GHILDERS, with his humble duty to Your Majesty, has the honour to submit that Colonel Sir Andrew Clarke, R.E., C.B., K.C.M.G., be appointed Inspector-General of Fortifications and Director of Works, in succession to Lieutenant-General Gallwey, who has been appointed Governor of Bermuda. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge concurs with Mr. Childers in this Submission.

Under ordinary circumstances, as this appointment includes military duties, the Submission would have been addressed to Your Majesty by the Commander-in-Chief with other Military Submissions. But in point of fact almost the whole of the duties of the Inspector-General relate to matters of engineering and building; and the office is not placed in the Army List as in the Military Department under the Commander-in-Chief, but in the Ordnance Department under the Surveyor-General. At the present time it is peculiarly necessary that this officer should have had great experience in the higher field of administration, and should be an Engineer of undoubted ability. Proposals are about to come before Your Majesty's Government for the expenditure of several millions on fortifications and works in Your Majesty's Colonies, and for the defence of Commercial Harbours in the United Kingdom. Sir Andrew Clarke is especially well fitted to advise on questions of this character and to design the necessary works. He was for nine years Director of Works at the Admiralty, where under the Duke of Somerset he designed the great works at Portsmouth, Malta, and Bermuda, and to a great extent at Chatham. He was also for five years Public Works Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India, having had charge of both

[1] Initialed by Her Majesty Queen Victoria

Fortifications and Civil Works, and having practically performed the duties of Adjutant-General of Royal Engineers.

Except Colonel Sir John Stokes, who is a year junior in the Army to Sir Andrew Clarke, no senior officer of Engineers has qualifications for the office of Inspector-General approaching to those of Sir Andrew Clarke, whose appointment therefore Mr. Childers has no hesitation in humbly submitting for Your Majesty's approval.

WAR OFFICE,
26. May, 1882.

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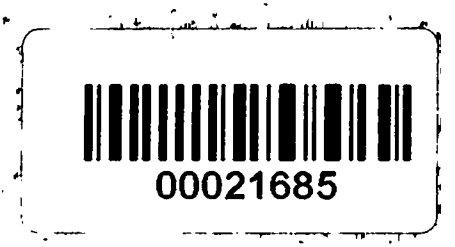
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